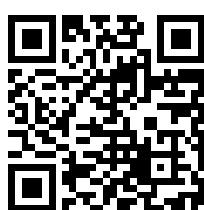


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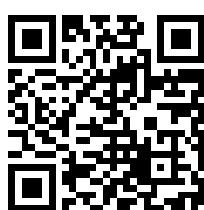


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WILLIAM OFVERBERG

The Verbal Inflections

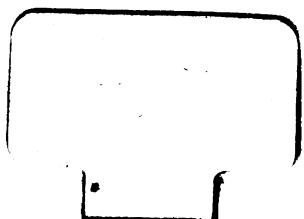
of the

East Midland Dialects

in

Early Middle English

Lund, 1924







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# THE VERBAL INFLECTIONS OF THE EAST MIDLAND DIALECTS IN EARLY MIDDLE ENGLISH

BY

WILLIAM ÖFVERBERG

82

LUND  
PRINTED BY HÅKAN OHLSSON  
1924



BILAGA TILL SKARA H. ALLM. LÄROVERKS ÅRSREDOGÖRELSE  
1923—1924

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## PREFACE.

This treatise is a sequel to a dissertation (The Inflections of the East Midland Dialects in Early Middle English (Substantives, Adjectives, Numerals, and Pronouns)) published this year by the undersigned for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. At first I intended to include this part, too, in my dissertation, but in order to avoid enlarging that book beyond reasonable limits, it was thought wise to publish it separately. My original plans explain the brevity of my commentary on the verbal forms in many cases.

In the arrangement of the material I have used the same system as in the above-mentioned treatise, i. e. I have started from the written forms of the texts and these forms have been subdivided according to the corresponding O.E. ones. Here also this system has not been strictly adhered to: thus I have arranged the strong verbs in accordance with the O.E. ablaut-series in order to avoid splitting up the material too much. Now that I am at the end of my work I realize that for the same reason it would have been far better to start from the O.E. forms with all parts of speech.

Because of the recent treatises by Thüns and Zenke, the verb in the *Orrmulum* has not been dealt with here. The weak verbs, however, have been rearranged, by way of comparison, according to my principles of the arrangement of the material.

If no reference is given, the O.N. and O.Fr. words within brackets are from the N.E.D. When referring to O.E. I generally use the West Saxon forms. If a word of foreign origin is only recorded in the latest O.E. I have, as a rule, placed it among the loanwords, if recorded earlier, among those of native origin.

If nothing else is said, a number after the name of a work referred to means the page.

In the material the numbers refer to lines in Orrm., Best., and G.Ex., but to page and line in Chr.

A semicolon between two numbers in the material separates instances in rhyme from those not rhyming.

For other questions of an introductory kind I must refer to my dissertation mentioned above.

To Dr. R. Larsson, Head-master of Skara högre allmänna läroverk I express my sincere thanks for his readiness in allowing my work to be published in the annual report of his school.

Lund, May, 1924.

*William Öfverberg.*

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## Abbreviations of Works Consulted and Texts Examined.

*Archiv* = Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen, herausgeg. von Ludwig Herrig und Heinrich Viehoff.

✓ *Best.* = Bestiary. E.E.T.S. 49 (An Old English Miscellany).

*Bj.* = Björkm.) Loanwords.

*Björkm.) Angl. N.F. XXV* = Björkman, Orrms Doppelkonsonanten.

*Björkm.) Loanwords* = —: Scandinavian Loanwords in Middle English. Studien VII, XI.

*Bj. Provenienz* = —: Zur dialektischen Provenienz der nordischen Lehnwörter im Englischen. Separat ur Språkvetenskapliga Sällskapets förhandl. 1898—1901 i Upsala Universitets Årsskrift.

*Boerner* = B., Die Sprache Roberd Mannyngs of Brunne. Studien XII.

*Bonner B.* = Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik, herausgeg. von M. Trautmann.

*Bosw.* = Bosworth-Toller, An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary. Oxford 1898.

*Brandl u. Zippel* = B. u. Z., Mittelenglische Sprach- und Literaturproben. Berlin 1917.

*Brate* = B., Nordische lehnwörter im Orrmulum. Upsala diss. 1884 (also in Paul u. Braunes Beiträge X).

*ten Brink (Chaucer)* = ten B., Chaucers Sprache und Verskunst. Leipzig 1884.

*ten Brink-Eckhardt* = ten Brink, Chaucers Sprache und Verskunst. Dritte Auflage, bearbeitet von Eduard Eckhardt. Leipzig 1920.

*Bryan* = B., The Midland Present Plural Indicative Ending -e(n). Modern Philology, 1921.

*Bülbr(ing), Abl(aut)* = B., Geschichte des Ablauts der starken Zeiwörter innerhalb des Südenglischen (Q. u. F. LXIII).

*Bülbr. El.* = —: Altenglisches Elementarbuch I. Heidelberg 1902.

*Chr.* = Earle-Plummer.

*Clark H(all)* = C.H., A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, 2nd ed. Cambridge 1916.

*C.O.D.* = The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English adopted by H. W. Fowler and F. G. Fowler from the Oxford Dictionary. Seventh Impression, Oxford 1919.

*Earle-Plummer* = Two of the Saxon Chronicles parallel, ed. by Earle-Plummer. Oxford 1892, 1899.

*Effer* = E., Einfache und doppelte Konsonanten im Ormulum. Bonn Diss. 1885.

*Eilers* = E., Die Dehnung vor dehnenden Konsonantenverbindungen im Mittelenglischen. Studien XXVI.

*Ekw., Angl. B. XXI* = Ekwall, Einige skandinavische flexionsformen im Mittelenglischen.

*Ekw(all) Sh.* = —: Shakespere's Vocabulary. Its Etymological Elements I. Diss. Upsala 1903.

*Emerson, Reader* = E., A Middle English Reader. New and Revised Edition. New York 1915.

*E.St.* = Englische Studien, herausgeg. von Kölbing etc.

*Fritzsche (Angl. V)* = F., Ist die altenglische 'Story of Genesis and Exodus' das Werk eines Verfassers?

*Gabrielsson* = G., The Influene of w- in Old English as seen in the Middle English Dialects. Göteborg 1912.

*G.Ex.* = The Story of Genesis and Exodus. E. E. T. S. 7. 1st. ed. London 1865, 2nd ed. London 1873.

*J. Hall* = J. H., Selections from Early Middle English I, II. Oxford 1920.

*Hallbeck* = H., The Language of the Middle English Bestiary. Lund Diss. 1905.

*H.E.S.* = Sweet, A History of English Sounds. Oxford 1888.

*Holm* = H., Corrections and Additions in the Ormulum Manuscript. Diss. Uppsala 1922.

*Holth. Angl. XV* = Holthausen, Zu alt- und mittelenglischen denkmälern. IV.

*Holth. Angl. B. XXXII* = —: Review of Brandl' und Zippel, Mittelenglische Sprach- und Literaturproben.

*Holth(ausen), Arch(iv) 88* = —: Zu Morris' Old English Miscellany.

*Holth. Arch(iv) 90* = —: Zur Textkritik me. Dichtungen.

*Holth. Arch(iv) 109* = —: Zur me. Genesis & Exodus.

*Holth. E.St. XVI* = —: Beiträge zur Erklärung und Textkritik alt- und mittelenglischer Denkmäler. IV.

*Kluge, Grdr.*² = K., Geschichte der englischen Sprache in Paul's Grundriss der germ. Philologie. Zweite Auflage.

*Kölb. E.St. III* = Kölbing, Kleine Beiträge zur Erklärung und Textkritik englischer Dichter. II. Zu der mittelenglischen Story of Genesis and Exodus.

*Kölb. E.St. XVII* = —: Kleine Beiträge zur Erklärung und Textkritik mittelenglischer Dichtungen.

*Lamb(ertz)* = Lambertz, Die Sprache des Orrmulum nach der lautlichen Seite untersucht. Diss. Marburg 1904.

*Luick Gr.* = L., Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache, Lieferung I—VI. Leipzig 1914—21.

*Luick, Studien* = —: Studien zur englischen Lautgeschichte. Wiener Beiträge zur englischen Philologie XVII. Wien und Leipzig 1903.

*Luick, Untersuch.* = —: Untersuchungen zur englischen Lautgeschichte. Strassburg 1896.

*Menze* = M., Der ostmitteländische Dialekt. I. Vokalismus. Strassburg Diss. 1889.

*Meyer* = M., Zur Sprache der jüngeren Teile der Chronik von Peterborough. Freiburg Diss. 1889.

*Morris' Spec.* = M., Specimens of early English Part I. 2nd ed. Oxford 1887.

*Morsb. Gr.* = Morsbach, Mittelenglische Grammatik. Halle 1896.

*Morsb. Schriftsprache* = —: Ueber den Ursprung der neuenglischen Schriftsprache. Heilbronn 1888.

*Mä.* = Mätzner, Altenglische Sprachproben. Berlin 1867 ff.

*N.E.D.* = A New English Dictionary . . . .

*Noreen* = N., Altländische und Altnorwegische Grammatik. Halle 1903.

*Orrm.* = The Orrmulum with the notes and glossary of Dr. R. M. White edited by Rev. Robert Holt, M. A. Oxford 1878.

*Rodeffer* = R., The Inflection of the English Present Plural Indicative. Diss. Baltimore 1903.

*Schum(ann)* = Schum. Angl(ia) Anz. VI (Review of Morris' 2nd ed. of Genesis and Exodus).

*Siev(ers)* = S., Angelsächsische Grammatik. Dritte Auflage. 2., unveränderter Abdruck. Halle 1921.

*Stratm.* = Stratmann-Bradley, A Middle-English Dictionary. Oxford 1891.

*Stratm(ann) E.St. IV* = S., Verbesserungen zu mittelenglischen Schriftstellern.

Studien zur engl. Philologie herausgeg. von L. Morsbach.

*Sweet, N.E.Gr. I.* = S., A New English Grammar I. Oxford 1892.

*Thüns* = T., Das Verbum bei Orm. Leipzig Diss. 1909.

*Wr(ight)* = Wright, Old English Grammar. Oxford 1908.

*Wright, E.D.Gr.* =—: The English Dialect Grammar. Oxford 1905.

*Wright, Reliquiae* = Reliquiae antiquae . . . ed. by Th. Wright and J. O. Halliwell. London 1841—43.

*Wyld, Short Hist(ory)* = W., A Short History of English. London 1921.

*Zenke* = Z., Synthesis und Analysis des Verbums im Orrmulum. Studien XL.

*Zupitza (Übungsbuch)* = Zupitza-Schipper.

*Zupitza-Schipper* = Z.-S., Alt- und mittelenglisches Übungsbuch. Wien und Leipzig 1907.

### Other Abbreviations.

<i>A.F.</i>	= Anglo-French.	<i>Norw.</i>	= Norwegian.
<i>D.</i>	= Orrm's Dedication.	<i>O.Dan.</i>	= Old Danish.
<i>E.E.M.</i>	= Early East Midland dialects.	<i>O.E.</i>	= Old English.
<i>E.M.E.</i>	= Early Middle English.	<i>O.F.</i>	= Old French.
<i>F.</i>	= French.	<i>O.N.</i>	= Old Norse (Old Icelandic).
<i>H.</i>	= Orrm's Homilies.	<i>O.N.F.</i>	= Old Northern French.
<i>I.</i>	= Orrm's Introduction.	<i>O.Swed.</i>	= Old Swedish.
<i>Icel.</i>	= Icelandic.	<i>O.W.Sc.</i>	= Old West Scandinavian.
<i>L.</i>	= Latin.	<i>P.</i>	= Orrm's Preface.
<i>M.E.</i>	= Middle English.	<i>Swed.</i>	= Swedish.
<i>Mod. E.</i>	= Modern English.	<i>W.S.</i>	= West Saxon.
<i>M.H.G.</i>	= Middle High German.		
<i>N.E.</i>	= New English.		

Other abbreviations (generally taken from N.E.D.) used by me will be easily understood without explanation I hope.

## The Formation of the Preterite.

### Strong Verbs.

#### A. Native verbs.

Class I. O.E. ī, ā, ī, ī.

##### 1. The regular type.

Inf. (Pres.)	Pret. Ind. Sing.	Pret. Ind. Plur.	Past Partic.
<b>Chr.</b>			
be <i>suiken</i> 267/10		risen 263/17	
		suyken 266/25	
		uurythen 264/13	
<b>Best.</b>			fordriuen (: liuen) 527
<i>bigripen</i> 516			
risen (: wise, sb.), <i>ros</i> 45, 773 653			
(MS. <i>sisen</i> 653); 627			<i>sinen</i> 19
	steg 775		
<i>swiken</i> 637, <i>biswi-</i> <i>ken</i> 515, <i>biswike</i> (: <i>dernelike</i> ) 429			writen 695
<b>G. E. x.</b>	bead (: dead, adj.) 3105, abead (a- -bead) (: dead, adj. and sb.) 422, 3856, 3862	abiden (: deden) 2483; 1638, a- -biden (: gliden) 3459	abiden 2388
	bot (: smot) 2926	driuen 4096	a-grisen (: risen) 667
<i>gliden</i> 370	glod 75, 76 etc.	gliden 733	driuen (: liuen) 307, 574 etc. (: giuen) 1681 fliten (: smiten) 3689 gliden (: a-biden) 3460

risen 4039	ros (: Eliopoleos) 2644; 261 etc., on ros 1936	risen (: a-grisen) 668
smiten 3866, 4040	smot (: bot) 2925; smiten 2109 (pp., 2943 etc. according to 3742, 3867 Schumann 20, cf. Morris, Mä., Kölb., Fritzsche)	smiten (: fliten) 3690;

*Note.* *smette*, G.Ex. 2684, pret. sing., a weak form, perhaps representing an O.E. *\*smætte* < *\*smætan*, corresponding to M.H.G. *smeizen*; cf. N.E.D. This form is also found in R. Brunne Chron. Wace (Rolls) 16371 (plur.), besides *smat*, and in Maldon Court Rolls; cf. *smatte*, K. Horn, *smet*, Lydgate (N.E.D.).

stigen 4130	son 3293, 3614 steg (: teg) 319; 3527, 3599	stigen 4130 bi-swiken (: liðerli- ke, adv.) 3561 weken (: wreken) 3282 (see Holt- hausen, Angl. XV, 194 wrot (: mot) 2527; 462 etc.
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*Note.* Confusion of the O.E. strong *bi-*, *belifan*, *beläf*, *belifon*, *belifan* and the weak *belēfan*, *belēfde*, *belēfed* is found in G.Ex. (cf. N.E.D. *beleave*, -eve, v., *belive*, *bilive*, *blive*, v.).

bi-leuen 1766, 3114, bi-lewen (: liuen) 2238	bi-leaf (bileaf) (bileften 800, (: leaf) 2776; a weak form) 1332, 3066, bi- -lef 671, 1346 etc. b[i]leph 2662	bi-leuen 3154 is doubtful; see N.E.D. bi-leven
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## 2. Verbs subject to Verner's law in O.E.

G.Ex.	serod (: lod) 2023, 2695; 1055 etc., serodt (: lodt) 339 (see Notes and gloss.)
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## 3. O.E. ðion, ðēon.

G.Ex.	ðen (: ben) 163, 803 etc.	ð(h)eg (: heg) 2012, 2779, dehg 1480, 1266	ð(h)ogen 2542, 2567
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The old ablaut-system, in its M.E. modifications, is well preserved. Deviations appear, however:

*Steg*, pret. sg., Best., G.Ex., in the E.E.M. dialect perhaps due to Scand. influence (see Bj. 62<sup>1</sup>), but its occurrence in southern dialects as well (see Bülbr. Abl. 87 f.) makes this explanation somewhat uncertain. Bülbring's theory seems to me more likely, Scand. inflectional forms being very rare in M.E. and not likely to have been so widely spread at this time. (See, however, also Luick, Studien 148).

*Abead, bead*, G.Ex. Bülbring, Abl. 84, explains such forms to be due to 'Verwechslung mit *biddan*, Pt. *bed*; oder Eindringen des Pl.- und P.P.-Vokals, der auch e geschrieben wird'.

The rhyme *abiden* : *deden*, G.Ex., prob. proves nothing as to the quality of the stem-vowel of *abiden*.

*Weken*, pp., G.Ex., (< *wiken* (O.E. *wican*), according to Holth. Angl. XV, 194; not an error for *wreken* as Morris believes) is doubtful. See, however, Morsb. Gr., § 115 and Anm. 2 and 8, *ibid.*, Luick, Studien 200 ff.; (cf. Wyld, Short Hist., § 352, and Bülbr. Abl., p. 84).

In Orrm. also the two verbs O.E. *bi-*, *belifan* and *belāfan* are confused. The following forms occur in Orrm.:

*bilefenn*, inf., 8380, 10679, 12613, *bilefēpp*, 3 sg. pres. ind., 12607, *bilæf*, pret. ind., 2391, 2773, 3160 etc., *bilefedd*, pp., 8914.

The pret. forms could be explained as due to transition into class II (cf. Kluge, Grdr.<sup>2</sup> I, 1069), but the weak pp. *bilefedd*, Orrm., favours the assumption of confusion of the two verbs.

Of O.E. *dion*, *dēon*, which had forms belonging to class I, II, and III in O.E. (Siev., § 383 and Anm. 3, *ibid.*), forms belonging to class II (the ablaut of the pp. intruding into the pret. pl.) occur in G.Ex. (no insts. of this verb are recorded in the other texts).

The forms found in G.Ex. are noteworthy with regard to the fact that in O.E. the forms belonging to class I were Anglian, whereas those belonging to class II were W.S.

Class II. O.E. eo (ū), ēa, u, o.

1. The regular type.

**Best.** crepen 251  
luken 25, rewen 552

<b>G.Ex.</b>	for-bead (: dead, sb.) 311, 2984, (: frigti-hed) 541, forbed(: ded, sb.) 213, for-bed 2932	forboden 325
brewen 4054		
crepen 610, 2560	crep 2924	cropen 2974
dregen 3235, drogen 977 (inf.?) = dro- gende, Morris, Fritzsche; cf. Schum.	dreg (: fleg) 429, (: heg) 566, (: bi- -teg) 2877	drogen 2402, 2404, (: sogen) 2786, (: (bi-)togen) 1772, 3648
	(ouer-)flet (: get) 586, (: let) 3187; 644	
	get(: flet) 585; 1624, gette 582	
	bi-loc 2684	loken (: troken) 106, (bi-)luken (: (to) broken) 362, 3779; 94, 104, 2886
luten 1926	under let 3188	lutten 2163, 3550, 4070
	reu 1166, rew 1828	
scheten 474	schet (: let) 475	suuen (: a-buuen) 107

2. Verbs subject to Verner's law in O.E. time.

<b>Chr.</b>		cusen 268/31	cosan 268/33
	for les 266/31		for loren 264/1, 265/7
<b>Best.</b>	ches 716		forloren (: biforn) 85
<b>G.Ex.</b> chesen 3429	ches (: for-les) 807, chosen 543 (: moyses) 2736; 433 etc., mis- -ches (: forles) 190		froren 97 (cf. Köl. E.St. III)
	forles (: mis-ches) 189; 502, for-les 241 (: ches) 808; 259	for-loren (: boren) 546, 1143, 1886, 2511; 3468, (: bi- -foren) 3953	
	sed 1487		

*Note.* *les* (: *moyses*), G.Ex. 2874, means 'delivered'. It seems to have got the form of the strong vb., O.E. *lēosan*, but the meaning of the weak vb., O.E. *lēesan*, -*de* (cf. *lesen*, G.Ex. 2897, 3152, *lesenn*, Orrm. D. 30 etc., *leosenn* 8309 etc. (Thüns 40), *lesedd* (pp.) D. 166).

### 3. O.E. tēon.

<b>G.Ex.</b> teen (: agen)	teg (: fleg) 1135,	togen (: drogen)
1344, ten (: ben)	3644, (: steg) 320,	3647, bi-togen
934, 1913, (: sen)	tog (: bog) 607,	(: drogen) 1771,
1238, then (: flen)	bi-teg (: dreg)	(: flogen) 3796
1514, nedēr-ten	2878	
(: a-gen) 3567, ut-		
-ten (: a-gen) 4004		

*Note 1.* Of the verbs O.E. *fleogan*, *fleon*, which are sometimes confused, the following forms are found in E.E.M.

<b>Chr.</b>	fleh 266/30, 267/5, 23 = fled	flugen 265/4, 266/25 = fled
		flugen 264/34, 267/2 = fled

<b>Best.</b>	flen (: ten)
	354 = flee

<b>G.Ex.</b> flegen 479, 610 = fly	fleg (: dreg) 430, (: teg) 1136; 973,	flogen 861 = fled, 3677 = flew
flen (: ben) 875, 1086, 1513 etc. = flee	flegt (: teg) 3643, all meaning 'fled', except flegt 3643 (prob. = flew, cf. gloss.)	
		3795; 1750 = fled

*Note 2.* Of obscure origin are:

<b>G.Ex.</b>	fledde 3384 = fled	fled 3396 = put to flight
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*Note 3.* The verbs O.E. *beodan* and *biddan* also are confused  
*G.Ex. Inf.* bidden 1802 = pray, beseech.

*Pret. Sing.* bad (: rad) 618, (: sad) 57, 115; 41 = commanded, (: sat) 882; 1015, 2653 = offered, (: glad) 2433; 3011, 3167 = asked, begged; bat 53 = commanded, bade 2436 = asked or commanded, bead (: dead, sb. and adj.) 1059, 2494 = asked, 2768 = commanded; 1056 = invited; 1069 = offered, bed (: ded, sb.) 258 = commanded, (: bred) 1014, 2047; 909 etc. = offered, gave (bed 1292 = commanded (Morris), = offered, gave (Schumann)).

*Pret. Plur.* bedden 2273 = *offered*, boden 1067, 1096, 1971, 3544 = *asked, commanded*, 3169 = *asked for*.

*Past. Partic.* beden (: deden) 2212 = *commanded*, boden 923, 4115 = *commanded*, 1430 = *wished*.

*Boden* 3111 probably stands for *boden* (= both), not = *bidden* as Morris thinks.

In this class also the O.E. series of ablaut is well preserved though the ablaut of one principal part has often been introduced into another, e.g., the vowel of the pp. is found in the pret. plural forms *cropen*, *flögen*, *flöten*, *chosen*, *goten*, *for-loren*, *d(h)ogen*, G.Ex.; *chosen*, moreover, having got the *ch*- and *-s*- of the pres. stem and the pret. sg. respectively. In a contrary way the ablaut of the pret. plur. has intruded into the pp. form *suuen*, G.Ex., and prob. also into (*bi-*)*luken*, ibid. (see the rhyme!); for these forms and the pret. sg. *bi-loc*, G.Ex., see Bülbr. Abl. 94 f., and Bj. 69<sup>1</sup>. *Gette*, pret. sg., G.Ex., is a new weak formation; new weak forms are also *lutton*, G.Ex., *lutte*, Orrm. Thüns, p. 45, suggests Scand. influence on the latter verb. This seems little probable as the weak forms were rare in O.Scand.

*Tog*, G.Ex., pret. sg., recorded once by the side of the common regular *teg* is, as far as I am aware, not to be found elsewhere in M.E. and, on account of its single appearance in G.Ex., too, is certainly corrupt; prob. an error for *drog* (see the rhyme).

The confusion of the two verbs O.E. *beodan*, *biddan* is general in M.E. For the pret. sg. forms *bead*, *bed* in G.Ex. see N.E.D. s. v. *bid* and Siev., § 391, Anm. 10.

The confusion between *fléon* and *fléogan* occurs already in O.E. (Siev., § 384, Anm. 2). On these verbs see also Boerner 142 f. There have been many attempts at explaining the forms *fledde*, *fled*.

Bülbring, Abl. 92 f., backs the opinion of Zupitza, Deutsche Literaturzeitung 1885, p. 610, that they are forms of a wk. vb. \**flēdan* 'fluten'. The same view is held by ten Brink-Eckhardt, § 134, Sweet, N.E. Gr. I, § 1294. This theory is thought to be wrong by the N.E.D. because of the difference in sense. (See N.E.D. and Wallenberg, Angl. B. 31, 221 ff. for other theories). The N.E.D. suggests connection with O.Swed. *flydde*, which suggestion is criticized by Ekwall, Sh. 24<sup>2</sup>, who thinks the other explanations given also rather unsatisfactory. Probably it is a new weak

formation of *flen* on the model of *shōn*, *shödde* etc. (see Luick, Gr., p. 327). Wallenberg, l. c., explains it to be a pret. of a causative of *fleon* (cf. O.E. *āfliegan*, "to put to flight, expel").

Against W.'s theory one might point out that the fact that the O.E. *fleon* also means "put to flight" counts in favour of assuming a new weak formation of *fleon* in M.E. It should also be noticed that *fledde* occurs much earlier than c. 1340, as is seen from my material, and accordingly it may have been introduced into the Kentish dialect of the Ayenbite from other dialects and in this way the dissimilarity of the inf. *uly* and the pret. *uledde* in the Ayenbite may be accounted for.

### Class III.

1. The stem ends in a nasal + cons. O.E. i, a, u, u.

a. The stem ends in -mb, -nd, -ng.

Chr.			begunnon 269/3
finden 264/30	fand 265/13, 267/14		
<b>Best.</b>			
finden 12, 243			
<b>G. Ex.</b> binden 2193	un-bond (: fond) 2216(pp.?, cf. gloss.)	bunden 860	
	2223		
finden 4139, findin 1877	fond (: lond) 1280, (: un-bond) 2224; 440 etc., fonde 1933 = fond e (e = he), Kölb. E.St. III, 303	fund 1973, 2948 etc., funde 3299	funden 3190, 3301
singen 27		grund 3339	
		sungen 3288	
	sprong (: long) 247; 60, 2740	sprung 1804	(up-)sprungen 3050, 4023
	stong (: among) 3896, (: long) 4083		stungen 3901
	wond (: fond) 4136; 3782, at-wond (: hond) 3058, up-wond (: lond) 2988, (: hond) 3084		
	wrong 2064		

b. The stem ends in *m* or *n* + a cons. (*b*, *d*, *g* excluded).

Chr.	belamp 265/30

winnan 266/4	wan 265/25, 268/7, uuan 265/25	
<b>Best.</b> drinken 138		
sinken (: drinken) 538		
winnen 411	wan (: man) 768	
<b>G.Ex.</b> drinken 2065, 3582	dranc (: dhanc) 1660	drunken 871, 1154, 1675
	(bi-) gan (: man, sb.) 188, 236 etc., (: ran, pret. sg.) 1534, (: laban) 1643; 91 etc.	gun 2558, gune 3135, gunen 351, 2378, 3223, gunne 1953, gunnen 534, bi- -gunnen 536
	(for-) sanc 1108, 1114, 1117	sunken 3775
swinken 3778	swanc (: ranc) 1657; 2014, 2877	swunken 1656

*Note.* Of the same type of pret. is *ran* (: laban), G.Ex. 1393, (: gan, pret. sg.) 1533; 1009 etc. On Scand. influence see N.E.D.

2. The stem ends in *l* + a consonant. O.E. e, ea (a), u, o.

a. The stem ends in -ld.

<b>G.Ex.</b>		
gelden 6, 1628	geald 2581, geld gulden 1062 1884, 2152 (cf. gloss.), 2758	gulden 927
b. The stem ends in <i>l</i> + a cons. ( <i>d</i> excluded).		
<b>Best.</b>		doluen 41
helpen 376		
<b>G.Ex.</b> deluen 2452	dalf 1873, 1887, doluen 3189 2718	doluen 1895, 3200 etc.
helpen 176, 1272	halp 26	holpen 3382, 3674
melten 99, 3579	malt 1017, 3337	swolgen 1976 (not inf. as Thüns., § 27, Anm. 1, hasit)

*Note.* *to-bolen*, pp. (: dolen), G.Ex. 970, (O.E. belgan, pp. bolgen); cf. *tobollenn*, pp., Orrm. 8080. On the explanation of this form see Ekwall, Sh. 7<sup>3</sup>, and N.E.D.

3. The stem ends in *r*, *h* + a consonant. O.E. eo, ea, u, o.  
a. The stem ends in *r* + *d*.

<b>Chr.</b>	w <sup>er</sup> d 268/2, 4, 21,    w <sup>ur</sup> de 263/23, ward 268/17, 30,    w <sup>ur</sup> then 267/2, uuard 263/1,        w <sup>ur</sup> þen 263/3 wart 266/10, warth 263/4
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b. The stem ends in *r*, *h* + a cons. other than *d*.

**Chr.** fuhten 266/6, 23,  
fuhtten 268/9  
sturuen 264/33

**Best.** bergen 14,  
231 (cf. J. Hall  
II, 595)

forwerpen 345		
<b>G.Ex.</b> bergen 1060	barg 1330, 3477, bargt 898 carf 2700	bergen 1102, 1105, 2686, borwen 886, 3044
figten 3227	fagt 3386, 3390	
	starf 481, 658 etc.	storuen 2975, 2982
werpen 3358, 3794	warp 714, 2640, worpen 2923 2804	storuen 3162 worpen 1943

*Note.* *warec*, G.Ex. 2876, perhaps = *barg* (Kölb. E.St. III), perhaps = *wrac* (Schumann). Both meanings suit the context.

#### 4. O.E. *bregdan*, *berstan*, *murnan*.

**Best.** forboden 124  
atbosten 582

murnen 2053

Before the lengthening cons. groups *-md*, *-nd*, *-ng* Chr. and Orrm. have *a*, perhaps already rounded [ã°]; cf. Meyer, §§ 1 and

10, Morsb. Gr., § 90, Anm. 1; Best. and G.Ex. generally *o*, and before a simple nasal or nasal + a cons. other than *b*, *d*, *g* all four texts have *a* (Menze, p. 12 ff., Hallbeck, §§ 2 and 4). The deviations in E.E.M. from these rules all allow of special explanations. In accordance with what is said above, we find the pret. *fand*, *belamp*, *wan*, Chr., *un-bond*, etc., G.Ex., but *wan*, Best., *dranc*, *gan*, etc., G.Ex. How far reshortening may have taken place in forms of this group is difficult to ascertain as no certain conclusions can be drawn from the rhymes (cf. Eilers 103 ff.). *Wrong*, Best. 78, *to-wrong*, ibid. 58, are both doubtful. J. Hall II, 597 reads *al to wrong*, Best. 58, and interprets *al to* as meaning 'altogether', 'exceedingly' and *wrong* = 'awry', O.W.Scand. *rangr*, the pp. *\*to-wrunge*, assumed by Mä., being without parallel. J. Halls suggestion seems quite acceptable and then *wrong*, Best. 78, is to be interpreted in the same way.

*Note.* *Swinked*, G.Ex. 4018, certainly pres. (= swinked), not pret. as the gloss has it, the pret. of this verb otherwise always being *swanc* in G.Ex. The weak pret. forms are younger (see N.E.D.).

On account of the ambiguity of the letter *g* in G.Ex. it is impossible to ascertain whether the initials of the inf. *gelden* and the pret. *geald*, *geld* are regular or introduced from the pret. pl. or the pp.

The stem-vowel of the pret. forms *geald*, *geld*, G.Ex., is probably *ɛ*, and then influence from the redupl. vbs. is impossible. Prof. Ekwall explains it to represent a broken form, which would imply that breaking was found at least in South Anglian dialects in O.E.

The pret. plur. forms *doluen*, *holpen*, G.Ex., have got the ablaut of the pp.; the opposite result of the levelling is seen in *gulden*, pret. pl. and pp., ibid.

The forms with *d* are levelled out into all forms of *wurden*, except the pp. *forwurden*, Best.; the pret. sg. forms in *-d*, *-t* are mere spelling-variants (see Meyer, § 26). *Wurðe*, pret. sg., G.Ex., is prob. a weak form, and *wurðede*, *-n* is due to confusion with the weak vb., O.E.: *wurdian* 'honour' (cf. v. 1826, G.Ex., where *wurðe* stands for *wurðede*). For *wærd*, *ward* etc., Chr., see Meyer, §§ 3 and 26. In *forwurden*, pp., Best., the stem-vowel is analogically introduced from the pres. stem.

On the other *wur*-forms of this verb see Gabrielsson, §§ 89, 90, 298, and 375, Bülbr. Abl. 82, and Zenke, § 8.

In G.Ex. the regular stem-vowel of *carf*, *fagt*, and *starf* seems to have influenced the pret. of *bergen*, resulting in *barg* instead of *berg*. (The latter form would be the result of the Anglian smoothing.) It could also be a loan from a non-Anglian dialect. Orrm. has *barrh*, see Thüns, § 27, Anm. 2. On the stem-vowel of *figten* cf., ten Brink-Eckhardt, § 138 and Thüns, § 27, Anm. 4. The pret. plur. forms *storuen*, *worpen*, G.Ex., have got the vowel of the pp.

In *forbroiden*, pp., Best., the -i- is analogically introduced from the inf. and the pret. sg. (cf. N.E.D. *broiden*, pple.a., Bülbr. Abl. 83, Luick, Gr. § 402, Anm. 2, ten Brink-Eckhardt, § 138, and 'Berichtigungen u. Nachträge', *ibid.*).

On *brast*, pret. sg., G.Ex. cf. Bj. 182 f., Boerner, p. 57, Anm., and p. 62, Anm., Thüns, § 28, Anm. 1, and N.E.D.

#### Class IV.

##### 1. The regular type. O.E. e, æ, ǣ, o.

<b>Chr.</b> bæron 264/19, bar 265/8	forbaren 264/36, 37, 265/2, cf. ba-
22	re 263/11 (subj.)
(Supply <i>sculde</i> befo-	bræcon 264/17
re bæron 264/22;	
J. Hall)	for holen 265/35
	stæl 266/22, stal stali 267/2 267/23
<b>Best.</b> beren 263, bar 39	
620	broken 173, forbro-
	ken 124
<b>G.Ex.</b> beren (: de- ren) 787; 8 etc.	bar (: war) 722, boren 684, 1725, boren (: forloren) 1307, (: cedar) 1730 1258; 209 etc.
	545etc.,(:bi(-)forn) 84, 220, 254, born
	ber (: asser) 1701, bor 425
breken (: wreken)	broken (: luken) 361, 3147 3049
for-helen (: stelen)	(: wroken) 3192
2593	for-(h)olen (: stolen) 1747, 1759 etc.
sheren(:deren)2347	schoren (: boren 1200, soren (: bi- foren) 1919

stelen (:helen) 1035, ut-stal (: dral) 2882  
 (: for-helen) 2594

stolen (:for-(h)olen)  
 1748, 1760, 2318;  
 1568

## 2. O.E. cuman, niman.

**Chr.** cumen 263/4, com 262/20(twice), coman 265/4, co- cumen 263/13  
 266/36 31, come 268/36 men 263/23

(subj.?)

nam 263/30

namen 263/7,  
 264/5, 265/36,  
 266/24, 267/3

**Best.** cumen 663, kam 43, 453  
 727

**G.Ex.** cumen (ku-  
 men) (: numen) cam (: adam) 355, come 3854, comen comen (: numen)  
 399, (: nomen) 416, (: nam) 1979, 2379, 2491, 344, cume 1432,  
 3040, (: wunen) 1401; 114 etc., 2611, 2940, cu- cumen (: numen)  
 305; 505 etc. bi-cam (: abra- men 1065, ut- 365, 410 etc.  
 ham) 996, 1404, comen 2097 on-kumen 841, ouer-  
 (: nam) 2007, 2148, (: mesopo- cumen (: numen)  
 taniam) 1744, ouer-cam (: tha- 2108  
 ram) 1634

nimen (: timen) nam (: adam) 85, nomen 1016, 1965 nomen (: cumen)  
 2362; 1042, forð- 200, 337, (: cam) etc. 3039, numen (: cu-  
 nimen (: timen) 1402, (: fellam) men) 366, 400,  
 2676 453; 2013 (: comen) 343,  
 binumen (: bicu-  
 men) 1578 (see  
 Kölb. E.St. III,  
 296 f. and Stratm.  
 E.St. IV, 98), mis-  
 numen (: cumen)  
 3091

Emerson, Reader 250, thinks the infs. *bæron*, *æten*, Chr., represent sporadic cases of lengthening of *e* in an open syllable. Meyer, § 5, suggests an open sound of the O.E. *e* because it is often written *æ* in the third part. of the Chr. Cf. Morsb. Gr., § 111, and Anm. 1 ibid. For the rhyme *beren* : *deren*, G.Ex. 1271 — 72, cf. Morsb. Gr., §§ 64 and 111. The pret. sg. form *ber*, G.Ex., has certainly got its vowel by the influence of the pret. plural (cf. Bülbr. Abl. 56 f., Luick Gr., § 363, Anm. 5, ten Brink, § 25, Anm., and N.E.D.). This analogical influence may have

taken place already in O.E. time, the M.E. *ber* thus representing an O.E. \**bær*. This is made probable by the frequent occurrence of the form in the earliest M.E. texts.

The pret. plurals *forbaren*, *stali*, Chr., may represent O.E. parallel forms (see Meyer 21); this may also be the case with *boren*, pret. pl., G.Ex. (depending on the quality of the *o*). But (*for*)*baren* and *stali* prob. have got their vowels from the pret. sg. with lengthening afterwards, and *boren*, G.Ex., may be an analogical formation from the pp. (see Bj. 86). The pret. sg. *bor*, G.Ex., (if genuine) would then be formed analogically after the pret. plur. — Wyld, Short Hist. § 355, points out that it need not be due entirely to the PP. type of the same verb, but partly also to the analogy of *swōr*. Because of its single occurrence by the side of the common *bar* and its occurrence out of rhyme, *bor*, however, seems rather doubtful in G.Ex. This form appeared much later (in W. Midl. texts about 1400, cf. N.E.D.).

*Bræcon*, pret. pl., Chr., points to an Anglian *æ* (instead of the more common *ē*); cf. Meyer, p. 21, Morsb. Gr., § 111, Anm. 1.

The pret. form *com*, Chr., may have either short or long vowel, probably a short one, cf. Orrm's *comm* (prob. < O.E. \**cōm*, or *cōm* by shortening in an unstressed position). Björkman, Angl., N. F. XXV, 379, explains Orrm's *comm* as due to Scand. influence.

The pret. *cam* (*kam*), Best., G.Ex., represents an O.E. (analogical) pret. \**cām* (See Bülbr. Abl. 74 f., Wyld, Short Hist., § 355; cf. Sweet, N.E. Gr., § 1406).

*Nam*, Chr., G.Ex., pret. sg. < late O.E. *nam* (cf. Orrm's *namm*).

*Cumen*, pret. pl., G.Ex., has got its stem-vowel from the pp. The pp.-forms *comen*, *nomen* are certainly exs. of the M.E. spelling *o* instead of *u* before a nasal, as the rhymes show.

### Class V.

1. The regular type. O.E., W.S., e, æ, *æ*, e, Anglian e, æ, *ē*, e.

**Chr.** drapen 264/14, 23

spac 266/33

**G.Ex.** dropen (:lopen)  
2648

speken (: wreken) (bi-)spac 925, 1444	spoken (:token, sb.)	
2027; 2016 etc. etc.	2913	
wreken (: breken) warc 2876 perhaps		wreken (: speken)
3148 (perhaps = wrac (Schum.		2028, 3067 etc.,
pp., cf. notes) 25; cf. Kölb.		wreken 3120, pp.
	E.St. III, 314)	according to Morris,
		inf. accord.
		to Kölb. E.St. III;
		i-wreken (: bi-speken)
		1856, wro-
		ken (:broken) 3191

## 2. O.E. etan, fretan.

Chr. eten 266/12	eten 266/12	
Best. eten 272, 433		
G.Ex. eten (: for-) at 337, 342, 3407		eten (: forgotten) 329
geten) 1399, 1805		
etc.		
freten (: bi-geten)		freten (: for-geten)
4027; 371		2101

## 3. O.E. licg(e)an, sittan.

Chr. lien 264/22, lai 262/34		
sitten 264/22	be sæt 263/19,	
	267/1, 22, 27, cf.	
	besætte 266/21	
Best.	lai (: dai) 42; 769	
G.Ex. lin 942	lai, lay (: dai, day)	leigen 1920
	1361, 3312; 1603,	
	3328	
sitten 279	sat 1053, 1239	

## 4. O.E. W.S. cwedan.

G.Ex. queden (: bi-	qu(u)ad 64, 755, 929,	quoden 2993, 3267	queden (:bi-neden)
neden) 3525, 4002,	1041, 1045 etc.,		(MS. queden)
(: deden) 1792,	quat 933, 1101,		3944; 1496
2788, bi-queden	1313, 1491 etc.,		
(: beden) 2448	quad 1311,		
(doubtful, cf. Morris,	1371, 2067, 2241,		
N.E.D., and	2387 etc., wad		
J. Hall II, 655)	1666, bi-quuad		
	117		

## 5. O.E. s̄ion, s̄eon.

## Best.

<b>G.Ex.</b> sen (: ben)	sag 26, 127, 171	segen 3222, sogen 225, 279 etc.	3522, (MS. lo- (: a-gen) 1795, bi- se(:bee) 4107, bi- sen (: ben) 2141	sen 237 sogen (: drogen) 2785, bi-sen(:ben) 1411, bi-sewen 1195 = be seen (Notes).
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## 6. N.E. get, give and compounds.

<b>Chr.</b> bigæton 267/	be gæt 265/20, 23	under gæton 263/	
30		33	
gyuen 262/29, 264/	iaf 262/30, 266/17,	iafen 263/32, iauen	
29, iiuen 266/36,	267/15	267/21, a iauen	
267/14		267/27	
<b>G.Ex.</b>	bi-gat 708, 709, 2278		bi-geten (:for-geten)
for(-)geten (: eten)	for-gat (: dat) 2092		911, 1151, bi-gote
330, 1400, (: bi- geten) 912			2618, for-geten (: bi-geten) 1152, 2179 (cf. J. Hall II, 648)
geuen 2398, 3667, giuen 11, 1613	gaf 232, 238 etc., gafe 1500, for- gaf 2499	gouen 844, 2922, 2975	geue 301, geuen (:liuen) 2458, 2609, giuen (: driuen) 1682

*Drapen*, pret. pl., Chr., is certainly of Scand. origin.

The pp. forms *dropen*, *wroken*, G.Ex., show transition into class IV. *Spoken*, pret. pl., G.Ex., is prob. due to a pp. *spoken* formed after the analogy of class IV (found in Cursor M., Hav., Rob. Br., etc.). Cf. Bj. 86 f.

The pret. sg. *at*, G.Ex., represents an O.E. *æt*, formed after the regular type *metan*, *mæt*, and recorded once in L. (See Siev., § 391, Anm. 3.). Cf. Morsb. Gr. 131, Bülbr. Bonner B. 17, p. 60 f., Sweet, N.E.Gr. I, § 1402, and N.E.D. On the stem-vowel of *æten*, Chr., see Morsb. Gr., § 111, Anm. 1; cf. class IV, above.

*Besatte*, Chr., is a new weak formation, arisen through confusion with O.E. *besettan*, wk. vb. On the stem-vowel of *besæt* see Meyer, § 2. *Lien*, *lin*, inf., Chr., Best., are new formations from the 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. pres.

*Leigen*, pret. pl., G.Ex., prob. < O.E. *lægon* (see Siev., § 391, Anm. 9).

In *quedēn* the *d* of the pres. and pret. sg. is extended to the other principal parts.

The writing *d* in *qu(u)ad*, G.Ex., is not reliable as *d* and *d̄* often interchange in this text. This spelling, however, is also found in other texts (see N.E.D.) and may be genuine in G.Ex. as well. It has been explained in different ways: it is most natural to think of influence from the plur. (cf. Kluge, Grdr<sup>2</sup> I, 1008, Sweet, H.E.S. § 732, ten Brink 70, Morsb. Schriftspr. 139), but the theory of Sweet, N.E. Gr., § 1473, (<*kwap*-(*h*)*e*) seems not at all improbable. French spelling is found in *quat*, pret. sg., G.Ex. The pret. pl. *quodēn*, G.Ex., may, although probably Scand., be due to the influence of the sing. *quod* where *o* depends on the preceding sound (Bj. 86). Cf. Bülbr. Abl. 59, Ekw. Angl. B. 21<sub>51</sub>, Wyld, Short Hist., p. 216, Luick Gr., § 363, Anm. 7.

The pret. plur. form *segen*, G.Ex., represents O.E. *sēzun*, -*on* (Siev., § 391, Anm. 7) and *sogen*, *sowen*, ibid., probably go back to O.E. *sāzun* (R<sup>1</sup>) (Siev., 1. c.). Cf., however, Bj. 87<sup>1</sup>, Bülbr. Abl. 73.

Scand. influence is made less probable by the fact that forms with this stem-vowel also occur in southern texts (see N.E.D. for the distribution of the forms). It seems more correct to assume influence of *flēon*, as the pp. *sogen* is best explained by assuming it to be an analogical formation after this verb (see Bülbr. Abl. 67 and 73). Thus the retention of the pret. forms *sogen*, *sowen* (representing O.E. *sāzun*) may have been supported by the pret. pl. of *flēon*.

*Sen*, pp., < O.E. adj. *zesene*, already used as a pp. in O. Anglian. (Siev., § 391, Anm. 7).

*Note.* Lamb. 75 states that *sene* is used in Orrm. as a pp. This is wrong: *sene* is only used as an adj. in Orrm.

In the Chr. as well as in G.Ex. and Best. the letter *g* is ambiguous and it is therefore difficult to ascertain to what extent Scand. influence is to be assumed in the forms *bigēton*, *begart*, Chr., *bigēten*, *bigat*, *forgeten*, *forgat*, Best., G.Ex. See Bj. 153, Luick Gr., § 46. Notice, however, that the earlier parts of the Chr. contain such forms as *beiat*, *beieten* (Meyer, §§ 29 and 73). For the forms in Orrm. see Thüns, § 30.

What has been said about the above verbs (*bigēten*, etc.) also applies to the verbs corresponding to Modern Eng. *give* and com-

pounds (except, of course, *iiuen*, *iaf*, *-en* etc., in the Chr. In Orrm. initial *g* interchanges with initial *ȝ* (Thüns, § 30). For further discussion of the forms (also with regard to the stem-vowels) cf. Bülbr. El., § 306, Anm. 3, Bülbr. Abl. 65 ff., Luick, Untersuch., p. 302 f., Luick Gr., § 46, N.E.D., Wyld, Short Hist., p. 214 f., Bj. 154 f., 293, and literature given there.

*Note.* Emerson, Reader has *given* in the text, G.Ex. 2458, 2609, instead of *geuen* (pp.). The rhyme is in favour of Emerson's reading.

The stem-vowel in *gouen*, G.Ex., is Scand. (Bj. 86 and 154; cf. Bülbr. Abl. 59). The pret. sg. *gafe*, G.Ex. 1500, prob. means *gāf* (note the following vowel in the text). For the long vowel see Luick Gr., § 363, Anm. 5.

### Class VI.

O.E. a, Ȱ, Ȳ, a (also æ, ea, e in the pp., Siev., § 392, Anm. 7).

#### 1. The regular type.

**Chr.** faren 262/29, for 262/33, 263/24,  
264/30, 268/29 265/19, 266/20

**Best.** dragen 548

fare 731

**G.Ex.** dragen (: fa- (ut-)drog (: nuge drogen 1077, dru-  
gen) 2360, 2378, = nū ge; cf. gen 3917  
to-dragen (: agen) Stratm.) 1327;  
191, wið-dragen 1746, 1844, 3954  
(: slagen) 592 (wið-)drog (: a-  
:nog) 599, (: y-  
nog) 3803, 3909,  
droge 478, drug  
2717

fare (: chare) 2389, for (: swor) 1337; foren 2482

fare (: garen) 743 etc.

137, 1418 etc.,

forfare 1134, for-

-fare (: waren)

1087, for-faren:

ut-pharen 3018/

3017, 3072/3071,

ut-faren(: charen)

3056

grauen (: hauen)

3778

fare 721

dragen(: (on-)sagen)  
13, 2046, (up-)  
dragen (: slagen  
1858, 3458 etc.,  
ut-dragen (: fa-  
gen) 2856, (wið-)  
dragen (: slagen)  
3983; 596, 2843

fare 3705, 4145

grauen (: caue[n])  
1138, (: hauen)  
2431; 3186, 3624

for-soc (: tok) 1833

for-saken (: taken)

3811

shauen 2120

woc 2111

wassen 1116, 2291, weis 2289

2442

## 2. O.E. standan.

**Chr.** for stod 267/11**Best.** stonden 621, stod (: god) 680

ut standen 655

**G.Ex.** stonden bi-stod (: mod) stoden 3543, bi-  
1607, 2639, 3999 3857, (under-) -stoden 716,  
stod (: blod) 1456  
1467, (: flod) 595,  
(: good) 186 etc.,  
stood 432, wid-  
-stod 2649, 3646

## 3. Contracted verbs.

**Chr.** sloghen 266/7**G.Ex.** slēn (: agen) slog (: swog) 483; slugen 3916 (cf. of-slagen 4077,  
3729, s[l]en (: len) 3474, 3913, slogue sluge 3976, pret. (un-)slagen (: fa-  
2837, slon (: on) 3048, slug 2668, subj.) gen) 509, 853,  
1752, 1938; 1328 2685, 4081 1332, (: (up-)dra-  
gen) 1857, 3457,  
3721, (: wid-dra-  
gen) 591, 3984

## 4. J-presents.

**Chr.** suor 266/33, 267/ suoren 267/10, suoren 263/35, for  
13 268/14, 16 suoren 265/7, for  
sworen 264/1**Best.** sop 456 sapen 736 (J. Hall  
(see Dialect) has  
sawen instead of  
saben)**G.Ex.** swor (: for, pret.  
sg.) 1338; 2433 sworen (: boren)  
824, 2677, (: bi-  
-foren) 1525

Luick, Gr., § 388, Anm. 1, gives *drug*, *slug*, G.Ex., as examples of shortening ȏ>u before a simple cons. in monosyllabic words in some dials. of the 13th cent. It is doubtful whether these words are to be interpreted in this way. The spelling u may mean ū: the transition -ȏ>-ūh had already begun in this dialect as shown by the rhyme *drog* : *nuge* (O.E. nū ge, cf. Stratm.)

G.Ex. 1327/28. Another inst. of this transition is *ynug* 2156. The ö-character of the vowel was prob. partly retained in E.E.M. as shown by Orrm's *drohh*. Also here the shortening most prob. did not take place in this word: Zenke, § 16, gives five insts. of *drohh* besides 15 *droh*, but Holm, p. XXX ff., reads *droh* in all places except 6822; the latter form he thinks to be miswritten (p. XL<sup>1</sup>). The forms *drugen*, *slugen*, G.Ex., point to a transition ö > ü also within the word. For the discussion of these problems see also Flasdieck, Angl. B. 34, 314 ff. and literature cited there.

Class VII. Old reduplicative verbs.

1. The stem ends in a consonant group.
  - a. The stem ends in a consonant group that does not lengthen the preceding vowel in O.E. time.

<b>Best.</b>	fel 674	fallen 693
<b>G.Ex.</b> fallen 2734	fel 72, 112 etc., fallen 65, 287 etc.	
	fell 1825, bi-fel	
	963	

welken 568

- b. The stem ends in a consonant group that lengthens the preceding vowel in O.E.

- a. The stem ends in *-ld*.

<b>Chr.</b>	halden held 263/18, 268/ 27, helde 268/11, heold 265/12, 14, 24, 266/19	helden 263/20, 267/17, heolden 263/35, 264/2, heoldon 266/35
<b>Best.</b>	helden 171, holden 46	biholden 636
<b>G.Ex.</b> helden 3274	eld 2999, held 22, 165, 971, 1807, 3088, 3101, 3345, 3522, 3774, helde 674, 3057, 3241, for-held (tgeld) 2026, wid-held 914, wid-held 1178 (MS. wid-held), 3019 (MS. wid-held)	helden 285 holden 1425, 1518, 2040

*Note.* *Holden*, G.Ex. 2891, is doubtful; cf. Körb. E.St. III, 315, Holth. E. St. XVI, 431, and Morris' notes.

β. The stem ends in *-ng*.

<b>Chr.</b>	under feng 263/ 14/15	under fangen 263/ 25, 265/19 etc.
	henged 264/10, 11	hengen 264/11, 265/33
<b>G.Ex.</b>	under-fon (: mis-don) 1679	under-feng (: streng) 480
		heng 3899 (MS. henget = heng it)
		hangen 4074, 4075

## 2. The stem ends in a single consonant.

## a. The present stem has a palatal vowel.

<b>Chr.</b> leten 267/7	læt 265/16, 267/22, let 267/12	
slepen 264/22	slep 265/10	
<b>Best.</b>	let 778	
slepen 24	slep 771	
<b>G.Ex.</b>	bet 483, 3958	
	lep (: kep) 2726	lopen(:dropen) 2647
leten 767, (: a-gen) 3544	leet 1280, let 225, leten 542, 629 etc.	let (: schet) 476 610 etc.

*Note.* In G.Ex., besides the genuine native form *leten*, we find the infinitives *laten* 3071, *loten* (: bi-hoten) 3131.

slep	(: dep) 1941, (: kep) 967; 1605, 3466
wep	4149, wept 1828

*Note 1.* O.E. *weaxan* (Angl. (R<sup>1</sup>) *wexan*) originally belonging to class VI, was inflected like a reduplicated verb in W.S. (Siev., § 392, Anm. 5).

<b>Chr.</b>	wæx 266/16	
<b>Best.</b>		waxen 564
<b>G.Ex.</b> waxen 4007	wex 273, 555 etc., wex 1917, wexen wexe 3749	waxen 831, 2060 599, 1479 etc.

*Note 2.* G.Ex. gret = wept (: wet, greten 3207, 3659  
adj.) 2287; 1975,  
2341

Two distinct but synonymous words have here coalesced;  
1. O.E. *grætan* (only in Anglian *grætan*) presumably a redupl. str. vb., pret. \*gret, pp. \*græten (wk. pp. once in the pl. *begrætte*),  
2. O.E. *grætan*, \*great, \*gruton, \*grotan (N.E.D.).

b. The present stem has a guttural vowel.

α. The present stem contains *ā*, followed by a sound other than *w* in O.E.

<b>Chr.</b>	hatte 266/2 (pres. or pret.)	gehaten 262/31, 268/31
<b>Best.</b>	higtes 169, 213, higtest 166	
<b>G.Ex.</b> atted 813	het 727, 827, 2365, heten 3450 2588, 2589, 3333, bi-het 1884, hic- te 713, hiegt 217, higte 690, 747, 1901	hoten 101, 1566 etc., oten 1131, y-oten 2416, bi-hoten (: loten) 3132

β. The present stem contains *ā/w* in O.E.

<b>G.Ex.</b>	blew 201, 3085, 3242	
knowen 2872	knew (: glew) knewen 1935, knowen 3087 460; 1536 2904, 3327	

γ. The present stem contains *ō* in O.E.

<b>G.Ex.</b>	flew 3875
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The quantity of the stem-vowel of O.E. *feoll* is disputed (Siev., § 396, Anm. 1). In Orrm. the vowel is short (Thüns, § 34) and prob. also in Best. and G.Ex. No rhymes exist, however, and perhaps the spellings *fel* (if genuine) and *fell* indicate that both long and short vowels existed in E.E.M.

*Halden*, inf., Chr., *holden*, Best., G.Ex., pres., inf., and pp. (cf. *haldenn*, Orrm.) < O.Anglian unbroken *haldan*. *Helden*, inf., Best., G.Ex., is either a southern form, or more probably (as we find it also in northern dialects), a new formation from the pret. *held*, -en, which were taken for weak forms (Prof. Ekwall). *Helde*, pret. sg., Chr., G.Ex., is a new weak form. The weak pret. *henged*, Chr., is a mixture of the weak verb (O.E. *hangian*) and the strong one; it may also partly represent the O.N. *hengia*.

On *læt*, pret. sg., Chr., see Meyer, § 11. The writing *leet*, pret. sg., G.Ex., proves the vowel to be long (cf. Thüns, § 33, Anm. 1). *Let*, pp., G.Ex., is a new weak formation (cf. Bülbr., Abl. 107 f.).

The origin of M.E. *laten* has been disputed. The occurrence of forms with -a- also in southern dials. (see Bülbr. Abl. 104)

makes it highly probable that *laten* is native and due to its lack of stress in the sentence. Now *lata* with a short stem-vowel (prob. due to proclitic position) is not seldom found in O.Icel. by the side of *lāta* (Noreen, § 495, Anm. 1) and therefore *loten* in G.Ex. could represent O.Icel. *lāta*, and *laten* O.Icel. *lata* (or O.E. *lētan* in dials. in which O.E.  $\bar{a} > a$ ). For the discussion of these forms see also Bj. 91, Luick Gr., §§ 354, 363, 8, and Luick, Archiv 102, 58, E.St. 56, 202.

*Wept*, pret. G.Ex., is also a weak form, quite common in M.E. (cf. *weptenn*, pret. pl., Orrm. 8140). The quantity of the vowel of *wex*, G.Ex. and Orrm., is uncertain, cf. Morsb. Gr., § 63.

*Hiegt*, pret. sg., G.Ex. < the reduplicated pret. *hēht*; by addition of the weak ending *-e* the form *higte* (*hictē*) arose (cf. Bülbr. Abl. 109, Sweet, N.E. Gr. I, § 1474, and N.E.D.).

The meanings of the different forms are: *hatte*, Chr. = is or was called; pret. *higtes(t)*, Best., *het*, G.Ex. 827, 2365, *bi-het*, ibid. 1884, *heten*, ibid. 3450 = promised, *hiegt* 217 = promised or threatened; *het*, G.Ex. 727, 2588, 2589, 3333; pp. *gehaten*, Chr., *hoten*, G.Ex. 101, 1566, 1902, 2185, *oten*, G.Ex. 1131, *y-oten*, ibid. 2416 = called, named; *hoten*, G.Ex. 2905, 3704 etc., *bi-hoten*, ibid. 3132 = promised.

## B. Verbs of foreign (Scandinavian) origin.

**Chr.** *tæcen* 266/8 *toc* 263/21, 267/22, *tocan* 263/20  
268/4

**G.Ex.** (up-)taken (ouer-)toc (: oc) token (: loken) (ouer-)taken (: ma-  
ken) 277, 1171, 1756, toch 3194; 2200 ken) 877, 1311  
1340 etc. (: enoch) 500, 3755  
(: iaboch) 3372,  
tog 1676 = toc,  
tok (: ok) 945,  
(: iabok) 3913,  
tooc(:booc) 4123

For the O.N. ablaut see Noreen, §§ 489—491. In E.E.M. it has adopted the ablaut of the native verbs belonging to class VI. For the spelling *tæcen* in the Chr. see Meyer, § 1.

This verb is first recorded in O.E. Chr. 1076 (c. 1100), but may have been in use earlier (see N.E.D.).

## Weak Verbs.

#### A. Native weak verbs.

I. The pret. is formed without any intermediate vowel in E.E.M.

1. The inf. (pres.) and the pret. have the same stem-vowel (qualitatively) in E.E.M.
  - a. The pret. ends in *-d(e)* in E.E.M. *aa.* The pret. ends in *-de* in O.E. *aa.* The stem-vowel remains unchanged (quantitatively) in E.E.M. The stem-vowel is *bb.*

Inf.	Preterite.	Past Partic.
<b>Orrm.</b> reddenn 8126	redde 19316	

βββ. The stem ends in other sounds than *-dd*.

To this group the following forms probably belong:

Chri- mureide 262/21

Note. *tunde*, *G.Ex.* 866, (O.E. *týnan*, -de) is influenced by the sb., O.E. *tún* (*Morsb. Gr.*, § 129, Anm. 1).

33. The stem-yowel is shortened in E.E.M.

**axx.** The stem ends in a sound other than *-d*.

**Chr.** feorde 262/26, feorden  
263/22, 267/5, ferde  
266/22, 267/25 etc.

ferden 268/9, fordfeorde  
266/14

herde 267/21, wende  
267/30

uuenden 263/25 (= believed), wenden 264/6, 265/5, etc.

**Orrm.** fernde 2661, 2767, 19616,  
ferrdenn 8219, 8909  
(Effer reads *ferde*, 2661)

zemenn 2911, 4179 etc. forr<sup>z</sup>emindenn 7502

ȝemedd 1691, plur.

### zemmde 1033, plur

**herenn** D. 139, H. 901 etc. **herrde** 907, 953 etc., **herrdenn** 366, 6723 etc.

herrd 153, 683 etc., heorrd  
10850

w[en]enn 9826, 11585 etc. wennde 1993, 2097 etc.,  
wenndenn 2101 8908

Beat, heren 205

herd 584 (see Arch. 88, 368).

G.Ex.

ferde 810, 1598 etc., fernen  
2306 2921

heren 1370, 2531	herde 621, 1025 etc. herden 1139, 3492, 3521 wende 477, 1240 etc., wenden 869, 1141, 3258 (wente 4015 is a scribal error for <i>wende</i> , Köl. E.St. III, 330)
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388. The stem ends in a long vowel + *d*.

<b>Chr.</b>	spedde 267/31
<b>Orrm.</b> fedenn 1558, 2080	fedde 3181, 6440, 15510, etc. feddenn 7690
hidenn 1019, 1678, 6922	hiddenn 13736
shridenn 3676, 12654	hidd 1090, 1704 etc. shridd 137, 782 etc. spredd 1015, 1671
<b>Best.</b>	bred 140
<b>G.Ex.</b>	bred 1013 (cf. Köl. E.St. III), 3147
chiden 2722	chidden 1927
fedde 2630	fed (: led) 3347
gredde 3585	
hiden (: sriden) 352	hidden 3028
speden (: leden) 2303	hid (: srid) 380, (: bi-tid) 358 etc.; 1747 etc., for- -hid (: bi-tid) 1875
sriden (: hiden) 351	sped (: for-dred) 3314
	spred (: led) 650, (: louerd- -hed) 831; 1450
	serid 1504, srid (: hid) 379, (: bi-tid) 1977
	bi-tid 2181 (pret., Schum. 21; cf. Notes), bi-tidde 3861
	bi-tid (: kid) 2358, (: hid) 2731, 4137, (: srid) 1978 etc.

Though this compound is not found in O.E., I place the verb here because of O.E. (*ge*)-*tidan*, *tidde*.

*Note 2.* O.E. *cýþan* (pret. *cýþde*, later *cýdde*) shows in E.E.M. a pret. of the same type as the above verbs.

<b>Orrm.</b> kiþenn 210, 632	kidde 9527, 18152, 19392, kiþpedd 16979
etc.	kiðdenn 3412, 17822
<b>G.Ex.</b>	kidde 1651, kiddit 1394, kid (: bi-tid) 2357 1654 = kidde it

I place the pp. *kiþpedd*, Orrm., here by way of comparison, although it may not represent O.E. *cýþan*. According to Lambertz, § 62, it goes back to an O.E. \**cyððan*, a new formation

from the sb., O.E. *cyððu*. Cf. Thüns 72. With regard to the fact that the form in question is the only one found in Orrm. (and in M.E.?) it may be miswritten for *kiþedd*.

β. The pret. ends in *-ede*, *-ode*, *-ade* in O.E.

<b>Orrm.</b>	birrde 1325, 2472 etc., birrdenn 4028
leornenn 9309, 11114, ler- nenn D. 20, H. 7419 etc.	lerrnde 7248, 7250 lernedd 16053

γ. O.E. strong verbs.

αα. From class II of strong verbs.

**G.Ex.** fledde 3384

ββ. From class VII of strong verbs.

**Chr.** helde 268/11

**G.Ex.** helde 674, 3057, 3241

δ. O.E. strong weak verb.

<b>Chr.</b>	of dred 263/3
<b>Orrm.</b> drædenn 5600, 5907	dredde 19965
etc., dredenn 852, 1218	forrdredd 147, 2183 etc.,
etc.	pl. forrdredde 3348,
	3778 etc., offdredd 7162,
	7925, pl. offdredde 3343,
	3809, 3813
<b>G.Ex.</b>	dredde 767, 1868, 3008
	for-dred (: for-red) 2191,
	(: led) 1557; 1763, 3919,
	of-dred (: led) 3955

The simple verb is not recorded in O.E., but I place the M.E. vbs. here because of the compound, O.E. *ofdrædan*.

ε. The O.E. verb has more than one form or inflection.

<b>Orrm.</b> turrnenn D. 18,	turrnde 845, 11056, 11156,	turrnedd D. 129, 305 etc.
H. 169 etc.	turrdenn 6568, 6582	etc.

Mixture of O.E. *tyrnan*, *-de* and *turnian*, *-ode*<sup>1</sup>. Influence of O.F. *turner* (turner, tourner) is also probable (cf. N.E.D.).

<b>G.Ex.</b> plaigen 2016	pleide 1214 (see Siev., § 391, Anm. 1)
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<sup>1</sup> Of course, *turrnenn*, inf., and *turrnedd*, pp., Orrm., may only represent O.E. *turnian*, whereas the pret. *turrnde* seems to be best explained as a mixture of O.E. *tyrnan* and *turnian*.

*Note.* *eilden*, G.Ex. 2892, pret. pl., < O.E. *eglan*, accord. to Holth. E.St. XVI, 431; cf. *eȝlenn*, inf., Orrm. 4767. In O.E. the form *eglian* also existed. Stratm. takes the form to represent O.N. *elda*, which seems less probable both from a phonological point of view and with regard to the meaning.

ζ. Native weak verbs not recorded in O.E.

<b>Chr.</b>	þrengde 264/17 (cf. N.E.D. þreng v. and Bj. 157)
<b>Orrm.</b>	þrenngdenn 16182 (cf. Thüns 44)

In *ferde* etc., *wende* etc. the shortening before the lengthening cons. groups *-rd*, *-nd* is certainly due to analogy with verbs in which the shortening is regular (see Luick Gr., § 352, Anm. 4, Morsb. Gr. 70 f. and literature given there). The shortening is regular in *forrȝemmdenn*, Orrm. 7502, and in the verbs the stems of which end in a long vowel + d. *Kidde*, Orrm., G.Ex., also has regular shortening of the stem-vowel. For the shortening in *birrde*, *lerrnde*, Orrm., see Thüns 44. For the new weak forms *fledde*, *helde*, see strong verbs. As to the quality of the stem-vowel in *dreddde*, see Morsb. Gr. 133 and Luick Gr., § 363, Anm. 6; see also *radde*, *reddde*, below, and Wild, p. 116.

*Note.* It goes without saying that Schum. (p. 5) is entirely wrong when declaring *reddde*, *dreddde*, *gette*, *smette* not to be weak forms. It suffices to compare the pret. *smot*, G.Ex., and to point out that *dreddde* and *reddde* go back to O.E. weak forms.

- b. The pret. ends in *-t(e)* in E.E.M.
- α. The pret. ends in *-te* in O.E.
- αα. The stem-vowel remains unchanged in E.E.M.
- ααα. The stem ends in — *tt*, or in a cons. + *t*.

<b>Chr.</b>	fæston 267/10, mint 265/22, sette 265/15
<b>Orrm.</b> settenn 722, 3910	sette D. 10, P. 60 etc. etc.
<b>Best.</b> bisetten 223	sett D. 41, 101 etc., bisett D. 260, H. 8169 etc., pl. sette 8180, 15801. set (: sisiologet) 309
<b>G.Ex.</b>	fest 2703, 3797 hente 2715!
	fest (: best, superl.) 1524, 2373

sat	945,	set	1962,	sette	set (: bet, comp.)	3754; 562
	251,	1278	etc.,	settes	etc.,	bi-set (: gret, adj.)
	135	= sette is,	bi-sette		3225	
	2687,	bi-setten	1066			
		shetten	1078			

βββ. The stem ends in sounds other than *-tt* or in a cons. + *t*.

<b>Chr.</b>	suencten	264/3
<b>G.Ex.</b>	wiste	2435, wis-

ten 801, 1060

For the meaning see anomalous verbs.

ββ. The stem-vowel is shortened in E.E.M.

<b>Orrm.</b>	kepenn	10088	keppte	2576, 3114,	kepp-
			tesst	10406,	kepptenn
			7296,	8084	

<b>G.Ex.</b>	kepen	2453, 3378	kepte	2625,	kepten	2772
	meten	2828	mette	888,	metten	1790

*Note.* Here perh. also (if not Scand.; see Bj. 109, 174, Kluge, Grdr.<sup>2</sup>, I, 933, 1021, Brate 66):

<b>Orrm.</b>	ȝatenn	9819	ȝatte	2372	ȝatedd	154
<b>G.Ex.</b>			gatte	2477,	gatten	2513

β. The pret. ends in *-de* in O.E.

αα. The stem ends in a cons. + *d*.

<b>G.Ex.</b>		un-bente	483
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ββ. The stem ends in a cons. other than *d*.

<b>G.Ex.</b>		felte	1466,	felten	350
		bi-ment	4150,	bi-mente	bi-ment (: went) 2202

1217

γ. The pret. ends in *-ode* in O.E.

<b>G.Ex.</b>		grapte	1544
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δ. Of O.E. strong verbs the following weak pret. forms in *-t(e)*, *-ten* are recorded:

αα. From class II of strong verbs. **Orrm.** lutte 8961 (inf. lutenn 2743, 2769 etc.). **G.Ex.** gette 582, lutten 2163, 3550, 4070 (inf. luten 1926).

ββ. From class V of strong verbs. **Chr.** besætte 266/21.

γγ. From class VII of strong verbs. **Orrm.** wepptenn 8140 (inf. wepenn 5653, 7923 etc.). **Best.** higtes 169, 213, higest<sup>1</sup> 156.

**G.Ex.** hicte 713, hiegt 217, higte 690, 747, 1901, welte 3371, welten 532, 840 (inf. welden 916, 2143, 3738), wept 1828.

ε. O.E. strong-weak verb (see Wr., § 513, Siev., § 405, Anm. 10).

**Orrm.** slæpenn 7483 (3 pl. sleppte 2484, 2961 etc., pres.) slepenn 6495, 7478

For strong pret. forms in the other texts see p. 20.

ζ. Native weak verbs not recorded in O.E.

**G.Ex.** dremen 2067 drempte 1941, 2049 etc.  
(< the sb. or an O.E.  
\*dréman)

*Set*, G.Ex. 1962, may be due to the following vowel, but perhaps this is an early instance of the confusion of the verbs *sitten*, *setten*. This may also be the case with *sat*, G.Ex. 945; *sat* may also be of O.N. origin, or due to O.N. influence. According to the N.E.D. the confusion of *sitten* and *setten* arose at the beginning of the 14th century.

The shortening in *keppte*, *mette* is regular. For *wiste*, -n, G.Ex., see Luick Gr., p. 326.

The number of verbs the pret. of which ends in -te in E.E.M. but not in -te in O.E. is not great in our texts. The majority of verbs of this type have different forms in the various texts, sometimes also different forms in the same text. See 'Verbs of mixed inflexion in E.E.M.' for more material and for the discussion of the forms.

2. The pres. and the pret. have different stem-vowels in E.E.M.

a. The pret. ends in -d(e) in E.E.M. α. The pret. ends in -de in O.E. αα. O.E. type *tellan*, *tealde*.

**Orrm.** cwellenn 1843, cwaldenn 15526, off-  
2018 etc., offcwellen cwalde 8037  
6897

sellenn 6345, 12190, 15983 saldenn 15557, 15559 etc.  
tellenn D. 56 talde 2059, 5372, taldenn tald 8258  
2061

**Best.**

**G.Ex.**

solde 1843, 1955

told (: wold) 758; 584, 764

sold (: old) 1908, (: wold)

1957



tellen 441, 497 etc.	told 862, 2123, 2907, 3741, told (: old) 657, 989 etc., tolde 321, 1401, 1403, (: sold) 1993
	1657, 2118, 2859, 3449,
	4093, tolden 3711, bi-
	told (: hold) 920

*Note.* *on ðe rode-wold* (: cold), G.Ex. 255, should probably be *on ðe rode quold* (< O.E. cwellan).

ββ. O.E. lecgan, secgan.

<b>Chr.</b>	læide 267/33, læiden 264/27
sæin 265/10, sei 263/11	sæde 266/35, sæden 263/3, 265/9
<b>Orrm.</b> leggenn 5097, 11993	leʒʒde 1334, 2381 etc. leʒʒd 3366, 3401 etc., bi- leʒʒd 8167
seggenn P. 55, H. 737 etc.	seʒʒde 149, 197 etc. seʒʒd 259, 465 etc.
<b>Best.</b> seien 501	seide 261, 454 seid (: breid) 673
<b>G.Ex.</b> leigen 1920 (pres. pl.)	leide 943, 1235 etc., leid (: seid) 2426, 2427; leiden 1969 817 etc.
seien 1139, 2795, seigen 2494, seyen 3561	seide 277, 323 etc., seiden seid (: leid) 2425, 2428 903, 1083

γγ. O.E. scēadan, sc(e)ādan (Siev., § 395, Anm. 4).

<b>Orrm.</b> shædenn 1209, 2482	shadde 3200, 9141 shadd 4939, 6295 etc.; etc., toshædenn 19862 plur. shadde 16865
<b>G.Ex.</b>	s(h)ad (: bad, pret. sg.) 58, 116, (: (un)-mad, pp.) 148, 208, 672, (: rad, adj.) 1784; 266

*Note.* Here partly belongs O.E. *rādan* (= advise, read etc.), strong-weak verb (Siev., § 395, Anm. 3). The following forms occur:

<b>Orrm.</b> rāde 18336 (1st radde 6496 sg. pres. ind.)	redd 6870
rādeþþ 17286 (3rd sg. pres. ind.)	
rēdenn D. 47, rēdenn D. 328 (3rd pl. pres. ind.)	
(cf. inf. rāfenn 2948, 11988 < O.N. ráða)	
<b>G.Ex.</b> reden 1534	redde 3436, redder 1145, for-red (: for-dred) 2192 1938, 2861

The verbs in this group regularly correspond to the O.E. forms. The different vowels in the pret. and the pp. in Orrm.,

on one side, and Best., G.Ex., on the other, depend on the different development of ā (< O. Anglian unbroken *a* before the lengthening cons. group *ld*) in the dialects of Orrm., Best., and G.Ex. The lengthening before *ld* is general in these texts (see Eilers), and there is no reason why we should assume special reasons for the long vowel in these verbs as Thüns, § 45, Anm. 1, has done. The infinitives *sæin*, *sei*, Chr., *seien* etc., Best., G.Ex., and the pres. pl. *leigen*, G.Ex., are all analogical formations after the 2nd and 3rd pers. sg. pres. ind. The prets. *sæde*, *-n* in Chr. are worth noticing. In O.E. forms like *sæde* are typically W. S. (Siev., § 214, 3).

Orrm's *shædenn* Lambertz, § 107, Anm., explains to be influenced by the sb. *shæd* or a new formation after this sb. — *Shadde* corresponds to O. Angl. *scéadade*, *scéadde* (see Siev., l. c.). The pret. *radde* is somewhat puzzling: one expects the stem-vowel *e* in Orrm's dial.; *e* is found in G.Ex. and also in *dredde*, Orrm., G.Ex., *of dred*, pp., Chr. *Radde* may be a loan, but there is much that is in favour of the theory that this form may have existed in Orrm's dial. by the side of *redde*, which would show that West Germ. ā did not altogether become ē in O. Anglian (cf. Pogatscher, *Anglia* XXIII, 308, Bülbring, Bonner B. XVII, 59 ff., Luick Gr., § 117).

b. The pret. ends in *-t(e)* in E.E.M. and O.E.

<b>Chr.</b>	bohton 265/31	
	brohte 265/16, 266/23,	
	267/33, brohten 263/8,	
	267/20	beteht 266/5
	wrohte 265/15	
<b>Orrm.</b>	biggenn 15793, bohhte 711, 12643, bohh-	bohht 12630
	15799 etc., biggen 7811, tenn 15961	
	abiggenn 6907	
brinngenn 1327, 2235 etc.	brohhte 798, 1937 etc., brohht D. 28, 89 etc.,	
(Effer reads <i>bringenn</i> 10498)	brohhtenn 1330, 6768 fullbrohht 16335	
rekkenn 16165	rohlte 9024, 14325	forrrahht 14540
sekenn 6625, 7067 etc.,	sohhte 2942, 6819, 13709,	sohht 6454, 8943, 9058
þurhsekenn D. 67, H. 242 etc.	sohhtenn 6395, 6811 etc.	
tæchenn 3468, 3614 etc.,	tahhte 1071, 1329 etc.,	tahht 18741, plur. tahhte
bitæchenn 6126 etc.	bitahhte 14774, 16074	9802, bitahht 2336 etc., plur. bitahhte 8282

þennkenn 1761, 3274 etc.,	þohlhte 2377, 7312 etc.,	þohht 2364, 2401
biþennkenn 2917, umm-	þohhtenn 15575, 15606,	
þeþennkenn 1240	16127, ummþohlhte	
	2903	
þinckeþþ, 3rd sing., 5028,	þuhhte 218, 10299, 16866,	
5030 etc.	18631	
	of(f)errþuhhte 8920, 19596	
wirrkenn D. 24, 9342 etc.	wrohhte D. 332, P. 2	wrohht D. 153, 161 etc.
	etc., wrohhtenn 14269,	
	15818, (wrohte 18540	
	is an error)	
<b>Best.</b> biðenken 94	dogte 455	
<b>G.Ex.</b> bigen 2166, 2246	bogte 1996	bogt (: wrogt) 3683; 1994
bringen 310, 312 etc.	brokte 237, brogt 219,	brogt(: bi-dogt) 38, (: wrogt)
	608, brogte 21, 395	62, 124 etc.
	etc., brogten 3546	
seken 3598	sogte 682, 1533, 1947,	sogt(: (up-)brogte) 848, 3189,
	sogten 1081, bi-sogte	3707, (: nogt) 1769, 2161
	3236, 3693	(cf. Emerson, Reader,
		260 and Morris' gloss.),
		3130, sowt (: nogt) 2870,
		bi-sogt (: nogt) 3080
	tagte 161, 458 etc., tagten	tagt (: dragt) 3623, 3746,
	1096, bi-tagte 1698,	bi(:)tagt (: agt) 923, (: bi-
	2010, 2139, bi-tagten	lagt) 774, (: nagt) 1677
	1424	
ðengen 1571 = ðenken	ð(h)ogt 1752, 2015	biðogt (: brogt) 37
ðhenken (pres. plur.) 393	(bi)ð(h)ogte 319, 333, 438,	
	948, 1089 etc.	
	ðoht 2298, ðowgte 295,	
	biðohte 36, bi-thowte	
	2735	
dinken 234	ð(h)ugte 407, 436, 1099,	
	1849, 2064 etc., ðhute	
	1469, ðuhte 3260, ðhogt	
	1765, ðhogte 491 =	
	seemed	

*Note.* ðhogte 319, ðowgte 295 = thought; not = 'seemed', 'appeared', as the glossary has it. Also ð(h)ogte 333, 438 may mean 'thought' (cf. glossary).

(ut-)wrogte 880, 3996,	wrogt (: brogt) 61, 123,
4144, wrogten 529, 547,	377, (: nogt) 40, 270 etc.,
1470, 4069, wroutis	i-wrogt (: brogt) 3215
156 = wrout(e) is	(cf. text and MS.), for-
	wrogt (: brogt) 266

The prets. *bohton*, Chr., *bohhte*, Orrm., *bogte*, G.Ex., and *wrohhte*, Orrm., *wrogte*, G.Ex. (metathesis recorded already in O.E., Siev., § 407, Anm. 14), correspond to O.E. forms with a short stem-vowel, but all the other prets. go back to forms with a long stem-vowel that has been regularly shortened before the cons. comb. *ht* (*gt*) (perh. short stem-vowel already in O.E. in *brohte*, *sohте*, *ðohte*, cf. Siev., § 125); cf. Thüns, § 45, Anm. 1.

The two verbs O.E. *bencan* and *byncan* are to some extent mixed up in G.Ex., as is often the case in M.E., but are kept apart in Orrm. In Best. there is only one inst. of the pret.

The inf. *biggenn*, Orrm., regularly represents the O.E. *byegan*, but *bigen*, G.Ex., is prob. an analogical formation (the *g* prob. denoting the spirant) from the 2nd and 3rd pers. sg. pres. ind. In the infs. *sekenn*, Orrm., *seken*, G.Ex., the *k* is introduced from forms where *c* could not be palatalized, e. g. *sekst*, 2nd p. sg. pres. (with syncopation).

## II. The pret. is formed with an intermediate vowel in E.E.M.

1. The pret. ends in *-ede*, *-ade*, or *-ode* in O.E.

<b>Chr.</b>	clepeden 264/28 folecheden 267/3 goded 265/16 halechede 263/15 lunede 268/19, luueden luued 268/32 265/29 pined 264/8, pineden pined 264/9, 265/33 265/32 (both plur.) plantede 265/27 ræuede 263/7, ræueden 264/29, 265/2, reuede 267/33 smoked 264/10
polen 267/2	styred 266/26 tiled 264/31
	tilede 265/8 polenden 265/11 pestrede 262/34, 266/11
	of uundred 263/3, of wundred 266/13 blettcedd 2289, 17193, blettsedd 4826
<b>Orrm.</b> blettcent 7181 (pres. pl.)	clepedenn 12978 cwiddenn 19358 endenn 3254, 17465
clepenn 5212, 12803 etc.	clepedenn 12978 cwiddedenn 8613
cwiddenn 19358	
endenn 3254, 17465	cwidded 282, 3048 etc. endedd 5355

follʒhe	8030, follʒhenn	follʒhedd	10503
D. 21, 40 etc.			
ʒarrkenn	I. 96, 98 etc.	ʒarrkedd	655, 1063 etc.
godenn	10866, 11832	godedd	2118, 2126
hallʒhenn	D. 194, H. 4413, 10803	hallʒhedd	3533
lufenn	852, 940 etc.	lufedd	5274
offrenn	1011, 1123 etc.	offredd	1133, 1136 etc.
oppnenn	D. 262, 284 etc.	oppnede	6470, 14855, oppnedd 4125, 7412 etc.
		oppnedenn	7357
pinenn	1614, 3733 etc.	pinedd	8338, unnpinedd 1367, 1435, 14733
ræfenn	2015, 3838, 10212	ræfedd	8238, 9773, 19825,
sammnenn	2412, 3285 etc.	biræfedd	2832, 4791, 8321
shæwenn	D. 276, P. 98 etc.	sammnedd	D. 29, H. 9453, 12242 etc.
tacnenn	D. 272, H. 736 etc., bitacnenn 919 etc.	tacnede	1756, 1772, 1776, tacnedenn 1733, 6387 etc.
þolenn	D. 52, H. 9399 etc.	þolede	11822
wattrenn	13848	wattredd	13864
wunndrenn	15475	forrwunndredd	3417, 12434 etc.
wurrþenn	208, 904 etc.	wurrþedd	2358, 2630 etc.
<b>Best.</b>		likede	31, sorgeden 682
ðolen (:	hole, sb. sg.) 770	þolede	690
wunen	522	wunedene	617 (read: <i>wunen</i> , J. Hall II, 618)
<b>G.Ex.</b>		andswerede	4109, an- swerede 2728, 3605
		askede	1391, 1711, askeden 2672
		bliscede	128, 1546, 4036 blisced 1552, 4036
		blisced	163 (see Morsb. Gr., p. 144, Luick Gr., § 379, Anm. 2)
		cleped	1198, clepede 1274, 4099, clepit 2631
crauen (:	hauen) 1320, 1408 etc.	crauede	1418
dere (:	were) 1588, (:	dered	2596, derede 242
3514, (:	answeref) 3566;		
4047, deren (:	beren) 788,		
1188, (:	weren) 1271 etc.		

folgen 28, 3272, folwen 401	endede 166 (endede 2521 perh.=ended=ended) fagnede 1441, 1655 folgede 204, 1866, 3848, folged 239 folwede 880, 1751, 3187 fondeden 3368
fonde 4061, fonden 2938, 3476, 3946	froðer[ed]e 893 prob. = froferede(O.E. frofrian)
gerken 2255	garkede 3261 for-hadede 3338 = for- hardede, Köl. E. St. III; (cf. Morris' notes and gloss.) for-hu-gede 3814 liked 4029, likede 2299, misliked 4011, mis- likede 1728
luuen (: abuuen) 9; 5 etc.	luued 1612, luuede 1443, luued 1174 2009
meden 1046	medðede 1242 offreden 3619 opnede 3773 rotede 3342 sameden 434 sewedden 2661 shewed 1971 singede 4066, sinigeden (cf. N.E.D. sin v.) 2205 stired 3580 ( <i>stired</i> 3961 is doubtful)
singen 172, 188	tillede 1278 tokenede 248
tilen 363	d(h)olede 778, 1180 warnen 1581 wattre 1648, wattren 2745 weren (: deren) 1272, 1794 etc.
mis-wiuen 540	wifuede 1588 wrestelede 1803
wune 785, wunen (: cumen) 306, (:numen)367, (:sune) 404, 932; 406 etc.	wuned 1133, wunede 789, 811 etc., wuneden 3122, 3845 wurded 1845, wurðede worded 262, wurðed 1012, 1010, 2011, wurðeden 1629, 1924 1922

*Note.* *wurðen*, G.Ex. 2463, cannot possibly represent O.E. *wurdian*, *wyrðian*, as the gloss. has it; cf. Notes. *Wurðe*, G.Ex. 1826, means *wurðede* (confusion with *wurðe* = was, became).

2. The pret. ends in *-de* in O.E.

<b>Chr.</b>	byrieden 265/34, bebyried 265/36, bebiried 263/8 atywede 265/35 (O.E. æt- ýwan)	bebyried 268/21, 22, 268/ 22 læredd 846, 1021 etc., unnn- læredd 17117, 17329
<b>Orrm.</b> hælenn 2218, 3060 etc.		hæledd 4300, 17427 etc.
lærenn 1781, 6129 etc.		læredd 846, 1021 etc., unnn- læredd 17117, 17329
<b>Best.</b> leren 115		lered 328
<b>G.Ex.</b> birien 2424		biried 256, 735 etc., pl. 3851, ybiried, pl., 2520
leren 354	kenned 216 heled 229 lerede 791, 1383 etc. lereden 3137 leuede 935, misleuede 3906 wernede 2966, 3000, wer- neden 2207	lered 4 werned 3171

3. The pret. ends in *-te* in O.E.

<b>Chr.</b>	lastede 264/25 lihtede 266/12	
<b>Orrm.</b> lasstenn 2228, 8549 etc.	shifftedenn 470 fastede 3611 hertedin 1980 (read <i>her- ten</i> ; J. Hall II, 644)	
lestens (: reste[n]) 12; 2906	lestede 2952, 4147 for-listede 1851 (corrupt; cf. Holth., <i>Anglia XV</i> , 193, and Morris' notes)	lested 600
rechen 2086, 2122, resten 1369	rechede 2124 (O.E. rec- c(e)an, <i>reahte</i> ) restede 257 senkede 322 shiftede 1732 sleckede 1230 (O.E. slæc- te, <i>slæhte</i> ) strekede 481 (cf. N.E.D. streek, <i>streak</i> , v.)	

4. Of O.E. strong verbs the following weak pret. belong to this group.

**G.Ex.** From class II of strong verbs: luked 3276 (cf. the pp. *lukēn*, G.Ex., (: broken, pp.) 362, 3779; 94, 2886, *lokenn*, Orrm. 1091, 1755).

From class VII of strong verbs: bannede 3213, [o]uer-flowged 556 (cf. the pret. *flew*, G.Ex. 3875, and the pp. *flowedd*, Orrm. 14567), walkeden 3882.

5. The O.E. verb has more than one form or inflection.

<b>Chr.</b>	liuede 268/11
<b>Orrm.</b>	libbenn 372, 2286
	etc., lifenn 10518 (pres. pl.)
<b>G.Ex.</b>	denede 3772, dinede 3464 (O.E. <i>dynian</i> , <i>dynnan</i> )
liuen (: driuen) 308, 573	liuede 777, 908, 1458
etc., liwen (: giuen) 4097	seilede 3389 (O.E. <i>seglan</i> , <i>seglian</i> etc., pret. -de, -ede, -ode)
trimen (: timen) 1024	trimede, 1198 (O.E. <i>try- mian</i> , <i>tryman</i> )
waken 2449 (pres. pl.)	waked (: maked) 2516
	waked (: naked) 360, (: ma- ked) 2469

*Note 1.* Orrm. trowwenn D. 134, H. 2820, 6946 etc. (inf.); trowwede 16902 (pret. sg.) and G.Ex. trewed 2385, trewid 1031 (pret. sg.), troweden 1092 (pret. pl.) represent O.E. *trēowan*, *trē-  
wian* and *trūwian*.

*Note 2.* Orrm. lisstenn D. 133, 309, H. 8574 etc. (inf.) — G.Ex. listen 1220 (inf.), listenede 3538, listnede 2137, 2222, 3403, 3565 (pret. sg.). The forms of the inf. < O.E. *hlystan*, whereas *listenede*, *listnede* prob. represent a blending of O.E. *hlystan* and O.E. \**hlysnan* (O.Northumb. *lysna*); cf. N.E.D. *listen*, v.

6. Native weak verbs not recorded during O.E. time.

<b>Chr.</b>	cursedē 266/35, pl. 265/ 6 (see N.E.D.)
	sæclede 268/30 (see N.E.D. sickle)
	sahtlede 267/6, -n 267/9, sæhtleden 267/20 (see N.E.D. <i>saughtel</i> , v.)

scatered 263/27 (cf. Bj. 10, 123, Ekwall, Sh. 78, Luick, Gr. § 46, and N.E.D.)	awwnedd 3385 etc.
<b>Orrm.</b> awwnenn 979 etc. (cf. N.E.D. awn(e), v. <sup>2</sup> and Thüns, § 46)	
blomenn 10769 (see N.E.D. bloom, v. <sup>1</sup> )	
currsesst 5050 (2nd sg. pres.)	currsedd 16059
icchenn 11832 (see N.E.D. icchen, v.; cf. Thüns 71)	icchedd 8123
filstnenn 5236 (see N.E.D. filsen, v.)	
fullhtnenn I. 94, H. 772, etc.	fullhtnede 19579 etc., fullhtnedenn 19575 etc.
lakenn 973	lakedenn 7430
sahhtlenn 351	
suhhʒhenn 7924 (see N.E.D. sugh, v.)	sahhtledd 7976
<b>Best.</b>	dennede 36 (< den, sb.)
remen 664 (pres. pl.)	filstnede 44
	rémede 773, remeden 684 (inf. hréman, hrýman is recorded in O.E., but no instance of the pret. or pp. is found in Bosw. and N.E.D.)
	suggeden 682
	taunede 767 (see N.E.D. tawne, taune, v <sup>1</sup> )
<b>G.Ex.</b> blissen 553	bless[ed]e 3653, 3803 (cf. N.E.D. blesche, v., and Notes)
cursen 4005	blomede 2061
drechen 1420, 1946	drechede 2835 (see N.E.D. dretch, v. <sup>2</sup> )
drinkelen 2768 (see N.E.D. drenkle, v.)	drinkilden 492
	eddede 1439 (< M.E. eþ(e) = eas(il)y)
	nidede 1521 (< the sb., O.E. niþ)
	un-drinced 3280

stunden 3211 (pres. pl.)	stunden 1987 may be an error for <i>stundeden</i> (cf. Stratm.)	
	tauned 3444, taunede 636, 757, tawned 4118, tawne[de] 1294	
timen (: trimen) 1023, (:bi-nimen) 1763 etc. (<time, sb., cf. O.E. <i>ȝetimian</i> , N.E.D.)	timede 3392	timed 4024
	dwerted 1324 (see N.E.D.)	
	thwart, v.)	
	wallede 435	walled 2554
	wirmede 3342 (doubtful, cf. Holth. E. St. XVI, 432)	

*Note.* Here may perhaps also be placed:

<b>G.Ex.</b>	frigtede 1861, 3978	frig[t]ed 1757, for-frigted 3519, o-frigt(:onigt) 2050, ofrigt (: o-rigt) 2225, o-frigf (: ligt) 3652, offrigt (: nigt) 3692
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According to Mä., *o-frigf* etc. not == *on frigf*, but is the metathetic pp.-form of O.E. *āfyrhtan*.

*Frigtede, frigted* rather represent an O.E. \**fryhtian* than O.E. \**fryhtan*, metathetic variant of O.E. *fyrhtan* (cf. N.E.D. *fright*, v.). For the hypothetic O.E. *fryhtian* cf. O.E. *forhtian*.

The verbs which regularly ended in *-ede* being in the majority in E.E.M., it is easily understood why so many take this ending by analogy.

As for the verbs whose stems ended in *t* or *d*, a need to distinguish the pret. from the pres. may have helped to bring about the adoption of the ending *-ede* in these verbs.

Change of inflection from strong to weak is not infrequent in M.E. In the material all three weak pret. endings are represented among the new weak forms, the adoption of one or another ending following the model of the old weak verbs. Of course, not all new weak forms may represent O.E. strong forms: e. g., *walkeden* may be a survival of O.E. *wealcian*, but this verb being rare I take *walkeden* to represent O.E. *wealcan*; *bannede*, having

the sense of O.E. *bannan*, may be a new weak formation from the sb., M.E. *ban*, or < O.E. *bannan* which has adopted weak inflections by the influence of O.N. *banna*, pret. *bannaða*; note, however, that weak forms are recorded already in Lazamon (see N.E.D.) which fact makes O.N. formal influence less probable. *Liuede*, Chr., G.Ex., goes back to O. Anglian pret. *lif(o)de* (see Siev., § 416, Anm. 2 and N.E.D.). The inf. *liuen*, G.Ex., may represent O. Anglian *lifian*, or be an analogical formation from 2nd and 3rd pres. ind. sg.

As is seen from the material, the majority of native weak verbs not recorded in O.E. form their pres. by adding *-ede*. A number of these vbs. go back to unrecorded O.E. vbs. which had this ending in O.E., and those which have arisen during M.E. time have taken this ending on the analogy of the great number of vbs. with the ending *-ede*.

### III. Verbs of mixed inflexion in E.E.M.

1. The pret. ends both in *-(de)* and *-t* in E.E.M., corresponding to O.E. *-de*.

<b>Chr.</b>	to dælde 268/5, to deld 263/27, sende 262/28, 28, senden 263/15	to deled 267/17
<b>Orrm.</b> dælenn 6175, 10140, todælenn 10495		dæledd 598, 8266 etc., bideæledd 4677 etc., todæledd 557 etc., unntodæledd 6773 ( <i>untodæledd</i> in the text), 11518 etc.
senndenn 527, 1854	sennde D. 235, I. 83 etc., senndenn 10275	sennd 209, 1820 etc.
<b>G.Ex.</b> delen 151 (pres. pl.) mengen 468	delte 941 mengde 3581, mengten 544	delt 670, 3243, undelt 943 mengt 1592
senden 1683	sente 775, 781 etc. senten 1970, 1973	sent (: went) 2312, 2895 etc.

*Note.* Here prob. also:

<b>Orrm.</b> demenn D. 172, H. 652 etc.	demedd 16727, 17710 etc. unndemedd 16725, 17045, 17654, demmd 872, 9969, 17659, 17665, 17673, 17685, 17703, 17796, pl. demmde 9981, 18968
<b>G.Ex.</b>	dempt 2038

2. The pret. ends in *-de* and *ed-(e)* in E.E.M.  
 a. The pret. ends in *-ade*, *-ede*, *-de* in O.E.

**Orrm.** *geornenn* 12152, *georrnde* 5231, 5241 etc., *geornedd* 7599

*geornenn* 2966, 3703 etc., *gerrnde* 12351, 17001,  
*gerrndesst* D. 23,  
*georrndenn* 3578, 7656  
 etc.

**G.Ex.** *gerneden* 3657

b. The pret. ends in *-de* in O.E.

**Chr.**

*flemden* 266/6  
*læd* 266/25, *ledden* 267/4  
 (both plur.)

**Orrm.** *cwemenn* I. 297, H. 1217 etc.

*cwemmde* 2595, 10532, *cwemedd* 10499, 13804  
 10568, *cwemmdenn*

I. 57, H. 377 etc.

*flemmde* 8243

*flemd* 8239

*ledenn* 884, 938 etc.

*ledde* 3204, 3469 etc.

*ledd* 9359, 9403 etc.

*strenenn* 724, 18896, *streno-nenn* 323, 327 etc.

*strenede* 17139, *streonde* 9822

*strenedd* I. 28, H. 18899,  
*streonedd* I. 33, 34 etc.

**G.Ex.**

*leden* 304, 699 etc.

*flemede* 1223

*ledde* 89, 92 etc., *leddede* 3995, *ledden* 858, 1990,  
*ledden* 2845 = *ledde* (gloss.)

*ledd* (: spred) 649, (: for-dred)  
 1558, 2954, (: of-dred)  
 3956 etc., *led* (: fed) 3348  
 = *led* (Holth. E.St. XVI, 432)

*quamede* 1019

*quemed* 86

*quemeðen* (: bi-nedēn)

125 = *quemeðen* (Mor-

ris' notes) = *quueðen*,

accord. to Kölb., E.St.

XVII, 293, cf. Holth.,

Angl. B. XXXII (Re-

view of Brandl und

Zippel)

Together with the verbs of mixed inflexion in E.E.M. I treat the verbs that end in *-te* in E.E.M. but in *-de* or *-ode* etc. in O.E. (For the material see above.)

The reason why these verbs have taken the ending *-te* in E.E.M. is not quite clear. Of course, analogy may have played an important part, as is nearly always the case when new forms of the verbs are created.

Prof. Ekwall points out, however, that this phenomenon may be due to a transition of final  $d > t$ . This change took place in the pp. and from there the  $t$  was introduced into the pret. The fact that the oldest insts. of  $t$  instead of  $d$  in verbs are all preterites and not past participles seems to disprove the theory; the non-appearance of the pp. in  $-t$  at the same early date may be incidental.

For the transition  $d > t$  see Wright, E.D. Gr., § 302 ff.

For the adoption of *-ed(e)* in verbs ending in *-de* or *-te* in O.E. see above.

The struggle between the different tendencies is clearly seen in the above material of mixed forms.

On *ledde* etc., G.Ex., see *dredde*, *redde*, above.

c. The O.E. vb. has more than one form or inflection.

a. O.E. *dwellan*, *dwealde* and *dwēlian*, *-ede*, *-ode* (see N.E.D. and Siev., § 407, Anm. 2).

**Orrm.** dwellenn 9938      dwalde 13218, 13472      dwelledd 226

**G.Ex.** dwelledde 1106

### 3. O.E. strong-weak verb (see Siev., § 389, Anm. 3).

**Orrm.** *fra33nenn* 2199, 2554 etc. *fra33nedd* 12973, 12975, 19628

**G.Ex.** freinen 1047, 1422 freinde 2053, freinede  
etc. 2759

### 3. The pret. ends in *-te* and *ed(e)* in E.E.M.

a. The pret. ends in *-te* in O.E.

<b>Orrm.</b>	misstenn 8919
<b>G.Ex.</b>	kissede 1828, kiste 1652, 2266, 2355
missen 3336	missed 1961, miste 3872, 3874

b. The pret. ends in *-ode* in O.E.

<b>Chr.</b>	be houed 265/14
<b>Ørrm.</b>	þratte 15514
<b>G.Ex.</b>	bi-ofte 1408, bofte 1388 ðreated 4125, ðrette 2023, 3729

4. The pret. ends in *t(e)*, *-de*, and *-ede* in E.E.M.

a. The pret. ends in *-de* in O.E.

<b>Chr.</b>	fylden 264/2, 264/5	
	wende 265/28, wenden	
	267/25	
<b>Orrm.</b> fillenn D. 21, 61	filledenn 14040	filledd 215, 1722 etc.
etc.		
wendenn 184, 3290 etc.	wennde 11320, 11396 etc.	wennd D. 13, 147
	wenndenn 3386, 3406 etc.	
	(Effer reads <i>wendenn</i> 3386)	
<b>G.Ex.</b> fillen 1463, fulfillen	filt 1247	fil ( : child) 1225, filt ( : pilt) 2213; 2307, ful-
1222		filt 1950
wenden 979, 1159 etc.	wended 1904, wente 606,	went ( : shent) 753, ( : sent)
	985 etc., wenten 533,	2311, 2896, forwent 1121
	623 etc.	

*Dwalde*, Orrm., represents formally O.Anglian \**dwálde*; and *dwelledde*, G.Ex., the late O.E. *dwélede*, *-ode*. The sense is possibly from Scand. (Bj. 236). I take *freinde*, *freinede*, G.Ex., to represent the O.Anglian weak pret. (see Siev., l.c.); the pp. *fraznedd*, Orrm., represents the unrecorded O.E. pp. corresponding to the pret. *fræynade* (L.).

For the discussion of the origin of this verb see Bj. 239 and Bülbr. Abl. 83.

The pret. *bratte*, Orrm., *đrette*, G.Ex., (besides *đreated*, G.Ex.) (< O.E. *brēatode*) show a development of the stem-vowel parallel to that of *radde*, *redda*, and the same distribution of the forms. For the explanation of the forms see Luick Gr., § 457, Anm. 2.

### 5. O.E. habban.

<b>Chr.</b> hauen 266/20	adde 266/5, hadde 263/26, 27, (ne) hadden 263/34, 264/19, 28, hedde 268/1, hefde 266/28, hefden 264/6, 265/23, ne hæf- den 267/28 [haued 269/3 prob. pres.]
<b>Orrm.</b> habbenn 158, 265, etc. Numerous exs.; ha- fenn D. 143, 151	haffde I. 28, 50 etc., haffdenn D. 211, H. 271 etc.
<b>Best.</b> hauen 196	

<b>G.Ex.</b>	<b>auen</b> (:grauen) 1512;	adde 240, 518, 519, 600
1505		etc.
<b>hauen</b> (:bi-)crauen	1319,	had 2005, hadde 193, 660,
1387, (: grauen)	2432	1556, 1869 etc., adden 239, 1480 etc.
		hadden 413, 560 etc., aude 1251, haued 472, 847, 1709, 1769, 1903, 2609, 3588, 3831 (Some of these exs. are perh. presents)

6. O.E. *macian*.

<b>Chr.</b>	makede 263/10, 264/2, maced 264/20, maked	
	etc., makeden 268/13, 263/35, 264/4	
	23, maket 266/1, macod	
	263/29	
<b>Orrm.</b>	makenn 1480, 3671 etc.	
<b>G.Ex.</b>	<b>makenn</b> (:up)taken) made 44, 67 etc., maden	mad (:s(h)ad) 147, 207, 278, 1312; 1269 etc. 1992, 2960, 2974 (: rad) 2729; 71 etc., maked (:waked) 2470, 2515

In the forms of the vb. O.E. *habban* Orrm. shows an older stage than Chr. which has the new inf. *hauen* and the pret. *hadde(n)* besides *hefde*, etc. (< O.Merc. *hefde*, recorded in Ps.; Siev., § 416, Anm. 1). For *hedde*. Chr., see Luick Gr., § 363, Anm. 5. As is natural, G.Ex. is still more advanced with regard to this verb than Chr; the forms *hadde*, -*n* being far more frequent than in the earlier text. The pret. *aude*, *haued*, G.Ex., are new pret. forms after the inf. *hauen*.

*Note 1.* Of course, Fritzsche, *Anglia* V, 72, is wrong in denying (*h*)*aude*, G.Ex. 1251, to be pret. Both the sense and the form speak against its being pres. Moreover, the pret. *hauede* is not unknown to other texts (see N.E.D.). *Haued*, G.Ex. 472, may be pres., though prob. pret.; cf. the context. For the discussion of the forms see also Morsb. Gr., § 70, Anm. 4, Luick Gr., § 428.

*Note 2.* *a*, G.Ex. 2720, can hardly be the inf.; the earliest inst. of this form given by the N.E.D. is from *Cursor Mundi* (c. 1300). Probably we should read *a-sen*; cf. Notes.

The Chr. does not show the same advanced stage of the forms of the vb. O.E. *macian* as of those of the vb. O.E. *habban*. No pret.

forms are recorded in Orrm., but to judge by the pp., Orrm's dialect has not as yet got the contracted forms found in G.Ex. For the discussion of the pret. *made* and the pp. *mad* cf. ten Brink, §§ 16, 27, Morsb., *Schriftsprache* 22 and 145, Gr., §§ 70, 71, Luick Gr., §§ 377, 449, Anm. 4 and E.St. 56, 200, Flasdieck, E.St. 57.

## B. Weak verbs of foreign origin.

## I. Scandinavian.

1. The pret. sing. ends in *-de* in E.E.M.  
a. The pret. sing. ends in *-da* in O.N.

b. The pret. sing. ends in *-ada* in O.N.

**G.Ex.** calde 1446, 1631, 1702 cald 890, 1814 etc.

2. The pret. sing. ends in *-t(e)* in E.E.M.
- a. The pret. sing ends in *-da*, *-ta* in O.N.
- z. The stem ends in *-t*.

**G.Ex.** elten 2892 (O.N. elta)  
ðrist 2110 (plur.) = ðriste  
(gloss.). (O.N. þrýsta, Bj. 224)

*Note.* Here may perhaps also be placed:

glente, G.Ex. 1029 (cf. Bj. 241 and N.E.D.).

### 3. The stem ends in a sound other than *t*

**G.Ex.** kipte (: egipte) 3164  
(O.N. kippa; cf. Bj. 143 and N.E.D.).

3. The pret. sing. ends in *-ede* in E.E.M.  
 a. The pret. sing. ends in *-at&a* in O.N.

**Orrm.** wannteþþ 13380 (3rd sing. pres. ind.) (O.N. vanta)

**G.Ex.** rapen 2376 (O.N. *hrapa*) rapede 1221

wantede 1233, 2155 etc.

b. The pret. sing. ends in *-da*, *-da*, *-ta* in O.N.

Oppenheimer 1611 (O.N. 1)

11 10104

Urrm. biggenn 1611 (O. N. 1)

biggedd 18104

unnnillenn 12944 (O.N. h

33senh 304

reisen 676

**G.Ex.**

un-hillen 1912

reisede 692

biggede 1137

un-hileden 2976 (cf.

Holth. Arch. 90, 295) hiled (: spiled) 3184

[hiled 102 prob. = hi-  
led, pres.]*Note.* Here perhaps also:**Orrm.** slekenn 10126,

sleckedd 5689

slekkenn 14484, 14602, 14720

**G.Ex.**

sleckede 1230

(O.N.? cf. Bj. 147, 147<sup>1</sup> and N.E.D.)4. The pret. ends both in *-de* and *-te* in E.E.M. (ends in *-da* in O.N.).**Chr.** brenden 265/1, brendon

264/29

**Orrm.**

brennde 1086, 1702, 1745 brennd 1000

**Best.** brennen 536**G.Ex.** brennen 1087, 3154 brende 1108, 2668, 2778, brend 3685, 4020, brent 3652, brente 1114 (: sent) 642; 1336, 26565. The pret. ends both in *-de* and *-ed[e]* in E.E.M., in *-da* in O.N.**Chr.** henged 264/10, 11**Orrm.** henngde 13773, henng-

denn 9952 (cf. Bj. 157 and N.E.D. hang, v.)

## II. Continental Germanic.

**Orrm.**

sperrd D. 261, H. 4122,

12155 (App. ad. M. Du.

sperren, N.E.D. spar, v.<sup>1</sup>)**G.Ex.** speren 2194

unspered 25

sperd (: (middel-)erd) 94,

384, 2093; 22, 564, 2039

(M.L.G. speren, see N.E.D., spear, v.<sup>1</sup>)

welkede 2107 (Here? cf. Du. and G. welken)

## III. French.

1. The pret. ends in *-te* in E.E.M.**Orrm.**

bikæchedd 11628

bikahht 11621, 12288

**G.Ex.**

kagte 949 (O.N.F. cachier)

2. The pret. ends in *ed(e)* in E.E.M.**Chr.**

acordede 263/20 (O.F. acorder)

**Orrm.** serrfenn 471, 475  
etc., serrvenn 506 (O.F.  
servir)

**G.Ex.** grantede 1423 (A.F. graunter, grantor)  
grucheden 3354, 3894  
(O.F. groucher, Skeat; cf. N.E.D.)  
iusted 1589 (O.F. juster)  
sacrede 612, 626, 938,  
4032 (F. sacrer)  
serue 1715, seruen 5, serued 1061, seruede  
1670, 1694 etc. 1692, 2051

Of the weak vbs. of Scand. origin those ending in *-te(n)* in E.E.M. go back to O.N. *-ta*, with exception of *brente*, G.Ex., found once by the side of the frequent *brende* in Chr., Orrm., G.Ex. Among the rest only one analogical form in *-de* is found: *calde*, G.Ex., whereas there are several new formations in *-ede*. The latter ending is the only one in the verbs of Continental Germ. and French origin, with the exception of *kagte*, G.Ex., which is formed on the analogy of the synonymous native verb, M.E. *lac(c)hen* (O.E. *lac(c)e*an).

### Preterite-Presents.

O.E. *āgan*.

Inf. No ex. — Pres. Ind. a. Sing. (3rd p.). **Best.** og 350, 371, 796. — **G.Ex.** oc 197, og 1, 2187, oget 324. — b. Plur. **Best.** ogen 293, 370, 786, 788. — **G.Ex.** ogen 15, 2054, owen 1944.

Pret. Ind. a. Sing. α. 1st and 3rd p. — **Chr.** ahte 266/20. — **G.Ex.** agte 525, 1671, 2309, 2727.

β. 2nd p. **G.Ex.** agtes ðu 1762 = oughtest. — b. Plur. No ex.

O.E. *cunnan*.

Inf. No ex. — Pres. Ind. a. Sing. (1st and 3rd p.). **Chr.** can 264/24. — **Best.** can (: man, sb.) 94; 658 (MS. canne = can he). — **G.Ex.** can (: caynan) 497, (: man, sb.) 2650; 309, 2872 etc. — b. Plur. **Chr.** cunnen 265/10. — **Best.** eunen 581. — **G.Ex.** eunen 4054 (MS. cumen).

Pres. Subj. **Best.** cumne (: sunne, sb.) 68; 12, 157 (sing.).

Pret. Ind. a. Sing. **Chr.** cuthe 266/17. — **G.Ex.** cuðe (kude) 878, 2114, 2366, 2674, cuðe (kuðe) 289, 470, 1659 etc. — b. Plur. **G.Ex.** euden 875, cuðen 2996, 3224.

Pret. Partic. **Best.** unkuð (: suð) 112, uncuð (: muð) 512. — **G.Ex.** kuð (: guð) 2666.

Imperative. **Best.** eune 191.

O.E. dear(r).

Pres. Ind. a. Sing. (3rd p.). **Best.** dar 783. — b. Plur. **G.Ex.** duren 2239.

Pres. Subj. **Best.** dure 187 (2nd p. sg.).

Pret. Ind. a. Sing. **Chr.** durste 263/9, 11, ne durste 268/24.

— **G.Ex.** durste 1047, 2593, 3968. — b. Plur. **G.Ex.** dursten 1863.

O.E. magan.

Inf. **G.Ex.** mugen 1818, 2090, 3993.

Pres. Ind. a. Sing.  $\alpha$ . 1st and 3rd p. **Chr.** mai 264/24. —

**Best.** mai (: dai) 746; 129, 217, 243 etc., maig 80, 516, 548. —

**G.Ex.** mai, may (: ay) 6; 3, 99, 101 etc., ma 295 (a mistake for *mai it*, cf. 298). —  $\beta$ . 2nd p. **G.Ex.** migt 1817, 4059 (I read (= Schum.): *ðu ðe migt ... weren* 1817). — b. Plur. **Best.** mugen 425, 627, 779. — **G.Ex.** mogen 3227, mugen 3017, muwen 3316.

Pres. Subj. a. Sing. **Best.** muge 155, 254. — b. Plur. No ex.

Pret. a. Sing.  $\alpha$ . 1st and 3rd p. **Chr.** (ne)mihte 262/26, 263/7, (ne)myhte 264/21, 265/3. — **Best.** migte 33, 677, 679. — **G.Ex.** migt 2654, mig(h)te 1029, 1098, 3306.

$\beta$ . 2nd p. **Chr.** myhtes 264/30.

b. Plur. **Chr.** (ne)muhten 267/2. — **Best.** migten 683. — **G.Ex.** migte 1898, migten 573, 876, 1147.

O.E. mōt.

Pres. Ind. a. Sing. **G.Ex.** mot (: fot) 1304, 3488, (: bot) 2958; 1102. — b. Plur. **Best.** moten 294 (cf. Holth. Arch. 88, 867).

Pres. Subj. **Best.** mote 196. — **G.Ex.** mote 1621, 2645, 3003.

Pret. Ind. **Chr.** moste 265/22. — **G.Ex.** muste 2624.

O.E. sculan (cf. N.E.D.).

Inf. No ex. — Pres. Ind. a. Sing.  $\alpha$ . 1st and 3rd p. **Best.** sal 25, 99, 727. — **G.Ex.** sal 9, 12, 70, 105 etc.

$\beta$ . 2nd p. **Best.** salt 201. — **G.Ex.** sal 1815, salt 362, 363, 1042, 1289 etc., saltu 2941, sal tu 1813, salt *ðu* 1043, 4104.

b. Dual. **G.Ex.** sulen 330 (dual according to Schum.), sule wit 1775, 2934.

c. Plur. **Best.** sulen 280, 378, 609. — **G.Ex.** sul 303, sule 305, sule ge 2188, 2303, sulen ge 2354, sulen 306, 308, 316, 318 etc.

Pres. Subj. No ex.

Pret. a. Sing. α. 1st and 3rd p. **Chr.** sculde 262/27, 263/4, 25, 265/34 etc. — **Best.** sulde 149. — **G.Ex.** suld 2572, sulde 172, 175, 955, 959 etc.

β. 2nd p. **Chr.** sculdest thu 264/30. — **G.Ex.** suldes du 3984.

b. Plur. **G.Ex.** sulde 1913, 1914, sulde we 3763 (cf. Schum. 30), sulden 957, 958, 2301 etc.

O.E. þurfan. **G.Ex.** ðurte 234 (3rd pret. ind.).

*Note.* ðard, *G.Ex.* 3778, is an error for *darf* (Holth., *Anglia XVI*, 432; cf. Morris' Notes).

O.E. unnan. **G.Ex.** hunne 2249 (3rd sg. pres. subj.).

O.E. witan.

Inf. **Best.** witen 33. — **G.Ex.** witen 328, 1302, 2651, 3928.

Pres. Ind. a. Sing. (1st and 3rd p.). **G.Ex.** wot (: fot) 3113; 353, 487 etc. — b. Plur. **G.Ex.** wite 390, witen (: writen) 523; 74, 2731.

Pret. Ind. a. Sing. **Chr.** wiste 262/25. — **G.Ex.** wiste 779, 901, 961, 962 etc. — b. Plur. **G.Ex.** wiste ge 2329, wisten 768, 2217, 3841.

Past Partic. **G.Ex.** wist 2720.

*Note.* *wisten*, *G.Ex.* 1060, = wished (Morris' gloss.), = verstanden zu (Fritzsche 80); Schum. says that both meanings will do in the context, but prefers Fritzsche's interpretation, thinking that *wisten* does not occur in other places in *G.Ex.* in the meaning 'wished'. With this opinion of Schumann's cf., however, *wisten* 801. *Wiste*, *G.Ex.* 2435, prob. also = wished.

O.E. *āgan*. — *Oget*, *G.Ex.* 324, = *oged*, is the only instance of the new pres. forms, which began to supplant the old ones in late O.E. and early M.E. (cf. N.E.D.).

*Agte*, etc., *G.Ex.*, < O.E. *āhte* with shortening of the vowel (already shortened in O.E.?, cf. Sweet, N.E. Gr. I, § 1483) (cf. *ahhte*, *Orrm.*).

*Note.* The old pp. is seen in the adj. *owen*, *G.Ex.*, *aʒhenn*, *Orrm.*

O.E. *cunnan*. The MS. form *cumen*, G.Ex. 4054 is probably a mistake for *cunnen* (not *cunen* as the text has it), and *cunen*, Best. 581, and *cune*, ibid. 191, are prob. also mere scribal errors.

Kluge, Grdr.<sup>2</sup> I, 1008, explains the M.E. pret. *cude* as due to 'Angleichung an' preterites in *-de*. This explanation is more simple than that proposed by Sweet, N.E. Gr. I, § 1479. It is hard to believe that such a complicated process as that suggested by Sweet really has taken place.

O.E. *dear(r)*. The u-vowel of the pret. is generally explained to be introduced from the pres. ind. plur. and the subjunctive. The pret. *durste* is found already in R.<sup>1</sup> (Siev., § 422, Anm. 4).

O.E. *magan*. The inf. and pres. plur. forms *mugen*, *muwen*, Best., G.Ex., represent unrecorded (late?) O.E. forms with *u* in the stem; cf. late O.E. subj. *muze* (Siev., § 424). These forms may be due to influence of other preterite-present verbs, e. g. *dugan*, inf., *dugon*, pres. pl., *sculon* (cf. Sweet, N.E. Gr. I, § 1481). The forms in question may, however, be very old; cf. O.Sax., O.Fris. *mugun*, German *mögen*.

*Migt*, G.Ex. (2 sg. pres. ind.) and *mig(h)te*, etc., pret., correspond to O.W.S. *miht*, *-e* (cf. O.Angl. *mæht*, *-e*), but may represent an O.Angl. \**miht*, *-e*, cf. O.Angl. (R.<sup>1</sup>) *niht* (cf. Bülbr. El., § 319, and Siev., § 159,s). *Muhten*, Chr. 267/2 < O.E. *muhton* (O.E. Chron., an. 992 E, cf. ibid., an. 1004, *he muhte*); cf. *mozt*, etc., Cursor M.

O.E. *mōt*. The *u* in *muste* (O.E. *mōste*) is certainly due to shortening; cf. *mosste*, Orrm. For this form see also Morsb., Schriftspr., p. 149, Sweet, N.E. Gr., § 1482, Luick, Gr. § 386, Anm. 2, and Flasdieck, Angl. B. XXXIV, 314 ff.

O.E. *sculan*. *Sal* (2nd pres. ind.), G.Ex. 1815, prob. is an early inst. of this form without *-t* (cf. N.E.D.), but *sal tu*, G.Ex. 1813, prob. = *saltu* = salt tu. The u-vowel in the pret. goes back to O.Anglian *sculde* (see Siev., § 423). Cf. Sweet, N.E. Gr. I, § 1484, Menze, p. 38 f. The shortening is due to the lack of stress in the sentence.

O.E. *purfan*. *durte*, G.Ex. (O.E. *porfte*). The u-vowel is due to the influence of the inf. and the pres. pl. The loss of *f* in this verb is not uncommon in M.E. and, according to N.E.D., this is due to confusion with O.E. *durran*.

O.E. *witan*. For the pres. form *watt*, Orrm., (by the side of *wāt*), see Holm, p. 88. The pp. *wist*, G.Ex. 2720, is a new formation (on the analogy of the wk. verbs) due to the pret. *wiste*.

### Anomalous Verbs.

Mod. Eng. *Be*.

Inf. **Chr.** ben 262/27, 263/25 etc. — **Best.** ben 350. — **G.Ex.**

be (: se, sb.) 1124, (: tre) 1236, (: me, pers. pron.) 3448; 1004, 1030, 2572, ben (: ðen, inf.) 164, (: flen, inf. 217, (: sen, inf.) 226; 15, 70 etc.

Pres. Ind. a. Sing.  $\alpha$ . 1st p. **G.Ex.** am (: abraham) 1611; 358, ham (: abram) 926. —  $\beta$ . 2nd p. **Best.** art 177, 214. — **G.Ex.** art 356, 1315, 2730, 2881, beas 365, 366, best 2884. —  $\gamma$ . 3rd p. **Chr.** is 264/15, 268/31. — **Best.** bed 413, es (: gres) 247, nes = ne es (is) 642, is 16, 47, 88 etc. — **G.Ex.** bed (: sed, 3 sg. pres.) 182; 386, 388, 486 etc., about 12 insts.; is 13, 46, 70, 106 etc., numerous insts.; his 2935 = is, ist 749, 1121 (see Notes), 1644, 1771 etc. = is it. — b. Plur. **Best.** aren 510, 531, arn 57, 351, 447, 512 etc., ben 49, 573, senden 79, 555 (Emerson, Reader has *sinden*). — **G.Ex.** aren 2228, arn 16, 815, 3606 (see Morsb. Gr., § 82 a), be 2400, be we 3289, ben (: sen, pres. pl. and inf.) 139, 280, (: quuen) 295, (: ðen, pres. pl.) 1127; 107, 511 etc.

Pres. Subj. a. Sing. **Best.** be 34, 721, 752. — **G.Ex.** be (: fe) 784, (: me) 2334; 1778, 2511 etc., bee (: bi-se, inf.) 4108. — b. Plur. **Best.** be we 284, 722, 790, ben (bi-tw'en) 369; 288. — **G.Ex.** ben 4075.

Imp. a. Sing. **Best.** be 215. — **G.Ex.** be 1583, 3524. — b. Plur. **G.Ex.** bed 2263, 3231, 3485, 13759.

Pret. Ind. a. Sing.  $\alpha$ . 1st and 3rd p. **Chr.** waes 264/32, 265/28 (twice), 266/26, 27, 29, 267/1, 268/1, was 262/23, 28, 30, 263/13 etc., 25 insts.; wes 263/9 (twice), 16, 25, 26, 264/35. — **Best.** was (: was) 40, 41; 452, nes 642 = ne wes. — **G.Ex.** was (: bras) 462; 37, 38, 43 etc., wast 1957 = was it; wos 1350.

$\beta$ . 2nd p. **Best.** were 168. — **G.Ex.** was 2876, wer[e] (cf. the text) 359, wore 1759, 1814.

b. Plur. **Chr.** (ne)uuæren 264/9, uuaren 264/4, uueron 265/6, wæren 266/37, waeron 262/25, 263/18, 264/1, 9 etc., waren 264/33. — **Best.** weren 95, 590. — **G.Ex.** were 746, 1897, were we 2174, weren 570, 579, 670, 802 etc., about 25 insts.; werren 1089, woree 2950, wornen 347, 488, 545, 559 etc., about 35 insts.; worn 61, 147.

Pret. Subj. a. Sing. **Chr.** uuare 263/1, ware 268/11. — **Best.** were 77, 265, 373 etc., 7 insts.; wore (: more) 706. — **G.Ex.** were

477, 1141, 1151 (cf. Notes), 1543 etc., wore 768, 1143, 1144, 1146 etc. (*were* and *wore* are of about the same frequency). — b. Plur. **Best.** weren 338, 762.

Past Partic. **Chr.** ben 266/28. — **G.Ex.** be 2648, 3120 (MS. me), ben 1709.

For the mixture of forms in E.E.M. cf. Siev., § 427. *Am*, **G.Ex.**, *art*, **Best.**, **G.Ex.** < O.Angl. (R<sup>1</sup>) *am*, *eam*, *eart* (Siev., l. c., Anm. 4); cf. Zenke, § 59. The vowels of the pres. sing. forms *beas*, *best*, **G.Ex.**, *bed*, **Best.**, are analogical (cf. Thüns, § 57). *Es* (: gres), **Best.** 247, besides the common *is*, seems, on account of its single appearance, to be only a rhyme-form rather than one which existed in the E.E.M. dialect, unless we interpret *nes* as *ne es* and not *ne is* (then *es* a North. loan?, cf. N.E.D.).

The pres. plur. forms correspond to the different O.Angl. forms (Siev., l. c., Anm. 4). For the pret. *wes* see Luick Gr., § 363, Anm. 5. *Was*, **G.Ex.**, (2nd p. sg.) is due to the scribe.

For the pret. *wore*, *-n*, *ware*, *-n* see Bj. 85 f., Bülbr. Abl. 58 f.

The past partic. forms are analogical new-formations, the pp. not being found in O.E.

#### O.E. *dōn*.

Inf. **Chr.** don 265/22, mis don 263/9. — **Best.** don 297, for-don (: on) 455. — **G.Ex.** do (: to, prep.) 1754; 173 (? cf. Kölb. E.St. III), don (: on, prep.) 534; 194, 290 etc., forð-don (: on, prep.) 3993 (the gloss. is wrong).

Pres. Ind. a. Sing. **Best.** doð 180, 203, 346, 484, 538, 795. — **G.Ex.** doð 2650, 2702, 2883 (3rd pers.).

*Note.* doðes, **G.Ex.** 2176, prob. = doð us (cf. E. A. Kock, Angl. XXV).

b. Plur. **G.Ex.** don (: on) 2231; 180, 311.

Pres. Subj. a. Sing. **G.Ex.** do (: so) 3504, (: to, prep.) 3509. — b. Plur. **Best.** do we 230, 283, 792. — **G.Ex.** do we 3819, 3822.

Imp. a. Sing. **G.Ex.** do 2514, 2781, 3055, 3502. — b. Plur. **G.Ex.** doð 2351, 3727.

Pret. a. Sing. **Chr.** (ne)dide 262/29, 263/28, 31, 34 etc. — **Best.** dede 229. — **G.Ex.** dede (: stede) 42, 118, 211, 606, (: bede) 632, (: ðor-mide) 2477, 2656, (: child-hede) 2652, (: estdede) 2757, (: quede) 1464; 24, 224 etc., dedis 3830 = dede is, for-dede (: stede)

426, misdede 1890, mis-dede (: stede) 1847. — b. Plur. **Chr.** diden 263/34, 264/7 etc., dyden 264/13. — **G.Ex.** deden (: beden) 2211, (: stede(n)) 1113, 3295, 3551; 1059 etc.

Past Partic. **Chr.** for don 265/9. — **Best.** don 798. — **G.Ex.** do 2088, don (: on, prep.) 345, 2315, (: ðor-on) 2261, (: un-don, pp.) 386; 381 etc.

The rhyme *don* (inf. and pp.) : *on* (prep.) may be correct (cf. Luick Gr., § 390). In *dod*, 3 sg. pres. ind., the vowel is analogically introduced (cf. *god*, 3 sg. pres.). The rhymes in G.Ex. imply different stem-vowels of *dede*: the rhyme-word *mide*, 2477, points to an i-quality of -e- in *dede* (cf. Orrm's *dide*), and *child-hede* to an ē (introduced from the plural), cf. *cwēde* : *dede* 1463/64; see Morsb., Gr. § 115, Anm. 5.

The rhyme *dede* : *bede* 632 is hard to judge (see N.E.D. bead, sb.).

On the rhyme *abiden*, pret. pl.: *deden*, G.Ex. 2483/84, see strong verbs (class I).

### Mod. Eng. *Go.*

Inf. **Best.** gangen 129. — **G.Ex.** gon (: on, numeral and prep.) 610, 643, (: manigon) 629 etc., under-gon (: a-gen, i. e. a-gon, Kölb. E.St. III, 293, foot-note) 1160.

Pres. Ind. a. Sing. α. 1st p. **G.Ex.** go 2616. — β. 2nd p. No ex. — γ. 3rd p. **Best.** ganged 199, 239, god 82, 400, 423, 702, 709 (Mä. has *ged* 82). — **G.Ex.** god 2030 (= god). — b. Plur. **Best.** gangen 185, 534, gon 606. — **G.Ex.** gon 3124.

Pres. Subj. **Best.** gon 52, 342 (plur.).

Imp. a. Sing. **Best.** go 204. — **G.Ex.** go 3002, 3359. — b. Plur. **G.Ex.** god 3069, 3585.

Pres. Partic. **Best.** gangande (: standen, inf.) 654.

Pret. a. Sing. **Chr.** gæde 264/13, iæde 267/23. — **Best.** under-gede (: manhede) 691. — **G.Ex.** gede 83, 618, 1236 etc. — b. Plur. **Chr.** ieden 264/33. — **G.Ex.** geden 1034, 1673, ford-geden 1755.

Past Partic. **G.Ex.** gon (: on) 639, 835, (: ebron) 1892, (: non) 2473, 3297; 3199 etc., a-gon (: a-gon, adv.) 78, ford-gon (: on) 835; 2819.

*Note.* The pret. and pp. of *wenden* (O.E. *wendan*) are used in the meaning 'went, gone' in G.Ex.

Pret. a. Sing. *wente* 321, 513, 798, 1107. — b. Plur. *wenten* 623, 2200, *wente* 1033.

Past Partic. *went* (: bi-ment, pp.) 2201, (: sent, pp.) 2311; 1429.

*Gangen*, Best., inf. and pres. ind. plur., *ganged*, *ibid*, 3rd sg., pres. ind., and the pres. partic. *gangande*, *ibid.*, are the only forms in E.E.M. descending from the O.E. *gangan* besides those found in Orrm. (see Thüns, § 60). The short stem-vowel (that it is short is seen by the appearance of *a* instead of *o* before *ng*) is due to infl. of the pp. with *æ* in inflected forms (*æ* may also have arisen through lack of stress in the sentence); cf. Morsb. Gr., § 90. On the rhyme *gon: on*, prep., see *don*, above.

The 3rd sing. pres. ind. form *god* may represent the rare unumlauted O.E. *gād* recorded in R.<sup>1</sup>, R.<sup>2</sup>, L. (see Siev., § 430) but has probably got its vowel from the other pres. forms in M.E. (cf. *dod*).

*Note.* I fail to see the reason why *god*, G.Ex. 2030, should be pret. as N.E.D. (see *yode*, *yede*, v.) and the glossary have it. As the other verbs in the context (*dhenked* 2028, *seid* 2031) are in the present tense, and also having regard to the fact that the pret. otherwise always has the form *gēde*, -n in G.Ex., I think we are entitled to take *god* to be another example of the usual interchange of *d* and *t* in G.Ex., *god* thus standing for pres. tense *god*. The pret. forms represent O.E. *ge-ēode* (cf. N.E.D. *yode*, *yede*, v.).

O.E. *willan*.

Inf. No ex.

Pres. Ind. a. Sing. *æ*. 1st and 3rd p. **Best.** *wile* (: *bile*) 87; 5, 147, 223, 314 etc., *wille* (: *wille*) 50; (: *fille*) 423; 14, 53, 272.

— **G.Ex.** *wile* 206, 277, 279 etc., *nile* (= *ne wile*) 1806, 1963. — *β*. 2nd p. **G.Ex.** *wilt* 1084 (cf. the text), 1104, 1312 etc., *wiltu* 1666. — b. Plur. **Chr.** *willen* 265/30. — **Best.** *wilen* 476. — **G.Ex.** *wile* 191, *wilen* (: *spilen*, inf.) 2531 (MS. *welin*); 2304, 3680, 3723, *wil we* 699.

Pres. Subj. **G.Ex.** *wile* (: *wile*) 2019.

Pret. Ind. a. Sing. *æ*. 1st and 3rd p. **Chr.** (*ne)uuolde* 262/22, 26, 27, 266/36, (*ne)wolde* 266/4, 8, 30, 34, 268/2. — **Best.** *wulde*

454, 455, 676, 770. — **G.Ex.** wold 1419, wolde (: golde) 3620; 912, 1418, wulde 214, 726, 1323 etc., wuldet 969 = wulde it.

β. 2nd p. **Best.** wuldes 501. — b. Plur. **Best.** wulde ge 89. — **G.Ex.** nolden 3029, wolden 3756, wulden 1071, 1075, 2749, 3324.

In the present tense, forms with *l* and *ll* interchange not only in the sing. but also in the plur. where only *ll* is found in O.E. Cf. Thüns, § 58.

The pret. *wulde*, Best., G.Ex., has been explained as due to the preceding *w* (see Morsb. Gr., § 120, Anm. 3; cf. Gabrielson, §§ 96, 374). The rhyme *wolde* : *golde*, sb., G.Ex., 3619/20, if correct, would prove that the long vowel of *wolde* existed in this dialect (perhaps along with the shortened one, cf. Orrm's *wollde*). See also Morsb. Schriftspr., p. 20.

## The Personal Inflections of the Verbs.

### Present Indicative.

I. 1st pers. sing. 1. Native verbs. a. Ending in an unstressed *-e* in E.E.M. 2. Ending in *-u(o)*, *-e* in O.E.

**Best.** haue 673, 758, mene 549, rede (: guðhede) 54, seie (: haliweie) 750; 680, 704.

**G.Ex.** chare (: fare, inf.) 2390, cume 1037, fare (: ware) 930, haue 2879, 3091, aue 2388, rede 34, 2133, 3118, singe (: wurdinge) 34, wene 309, 315, 317, 3572. — β. Ending in *-iu*, *-ie* in O.E. No ex.

b. No special ending in E.E.M. and O.E. — **G.Ex.** se (: ðe, pers. pron.) 4035.

2. Verbs of foreign origin. — **G.Ex.** take 2617 (Scand.)

*Note 1.* When followed by the pronoun *ic* the following forms are found. *G.Ex.* bid 2509, bidde 1569, 4074, biddi (hic) 27, bringe 2880, knowe 2869, find 1045, giue 3078, leate 1811, se 3119.

As is seen above, the ending is generally *-e*. When the verb is immediately followed by the pron. *ic* the ending is dropped, sometimes also in the spelling. The ending is sometimes drop-

ped in O.E. too (see Siev., § 355, Anm. 4). In Orrm. the ending is never dropped in the spelling before *ic* (Thüns 11<sup>1</sup>), but is, as usual, not pronounced in the verse. *Biddi*, G.Ex. 27, is clearly miswritten, *i* being due to the *i* in *(h)ic*. Contract verbs do not take any special ending.

*Note.* *Seie*, Best., (O.E. *sege*) is formed on the analogy of the 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. *Haue*, Best., G.Ex., is also an analogical formation.

Orrm. has *habbe* and *hafe*, both forms being written in hand A (the original hand); cf. Holm 77 and Zenke 25.

II. 2nd pers. sing. 1. Native verbs. a. Ending in *-es* in E.E.M. α. Ending in *-(e)s*, *-(e)st* in O.E. — **Best.** *forbreðes* 174 (= *forbredes*, O.E. *forbregdan*; Emerson, Reader), *forwurðes* 175. — **G.Ex.** *betes* 3974, *findes* 1768, 2320, *gernes* 3517, *redes* 2934, *stondes* 2782, *weries* 1816. — β. Ending in *-as*, *-ast* in O.E. No ex.

γ. Native vb. not recorded in O.E. — **Best.** *forgelues* 175 (cf. J. Hall II, 602).

b. Ending in *-est* in E.E.M. α. Ending in *-(e)s*, *-(e)st* in O.E. **G.Ex.** *bringest* 1832.

β. Ending in *-as*, *-ast* in O.E. — **G.Ex.** *tregest* 3975 (O.E. *tregian*, cf. gloss.)

c. Mixed forms in E.E.M. — **Best.** *hauest* 173. — **G.Ex.** *as* 1760, *haues* 361, *hauest* 1084, 1832.

2. Verbs of Scand. origin. — **G.Ex.** *calles* 3237, *ransakes* 1773, *tines* 3518.

The material proves Morsb. (Gr., p. 17) to be inexact when only giving the ending *-est* of the 2nd pers. sg. pres. ind. in Middleland dialects. The prevalence of forms in *-es* in Best. and G.Ex. cannot prove, however, that this ending really was more common in E.E.M., as the material is so small, which fact makes it possible that the majority of the forms in *-es* is only incidental. It should, however, be noticed that the weak vbs. of Scand. origin and the native *forgelues*, Best. 175, only take the ending *-es* and these facts too, prob. not incidental, may prove this ending to be the common one in this dialect.

III. 3rd pers. sing. 1. Native verbs.

a. Full forms in E.E.M. α. Ending in *-ed* (-ed, -et, -id, -id) in E.E.M.

α. Ending in *-e)ð* in O.E.

**Best.** atbrested 672, bered 268, biswiked 488, kiðed 131, knowed 121, creped 130, cumeð 56, 67, 109, 667, bicumeð 91, 738, ouer-cumeð 749, diued 539, draged 9, 311, 407, dreped 483, 540, drinkeð 321, driued 13, 470, falleð (: called) 650; 108, fasted 126, feleð 415, 538, fested 463 (On Scand. influence see N.E.D. fast v<sup>1</sup> and Bj., 237), figted 158, filleð 8, fleged 64, 702, 707, forbeded 298, giued 377, helped 249, leged 451, 704, leped 319, 416, lereð 101, 105 (cf. Emerson, Reader, p. 257; Emerson is probably right in reading *leterd* instead of *lereð* 105), leted 135, 793, forleted 260, letted 417, leued 100, listned 551, lukeð (: sukeð) 513, luteð (: puted) 668, neded 133, 216, nimeð 93, 134, 479, 480, 741, rested 241, rigted 152, rised 746, saked 264, forsaket 96, seked 62, 132, selleð 494, sildeð 162, singed 570, simkeð 568, slaked 126, sleped 648, springed 62, stepped 10 (cf. Siev., § 358 a, Anm. 5 a), stereð 404, stireð 18, 520, sukeð (: lukeð) 514, suned 264, 291, sweleð 315, swimmed 355, swinked 235, telled 257, tetired 420, tiled 255, ðenked 449, waked 47, wadeð 357, walked (= -d, Mä.) 755, waxed 151, werked 498, 569 (with the vowel of the sb., Gabrielsson §§ 88, 93, cf. werk, sb., Best. 449), wered 102, werped 325, 467, weved 462, wurdeð 75, wurded 482.

**G.Ex.** bered 326, 2705, bi-ginned 2538, brekeð 3062, knowned 134, dered 3818, greted 2382, 2864, helped 1981, 4062, helped 195, leged 1281, lested 111, 2510, luket 98, quemeð 408, sendet 1412, sendeð 2383, sired 327, stonded 392, swinked 4018 (of course not pret. as Morris has it in the gloss., the pret. form is *swanc* in G.Ex., see p. 8), telled 17, telleð 414, ðhenkeð 2028, dinked 2407, ðinkeð 391, 2403, up-wakeð (: quaked) 3466, wreðed 1584.

β. Ending in *-ad* in O.E.

**Best.** bihoued 340, bitokned 198, 487, cleped 310, fecched 391, feched 242, foleged 546, 757, fondeð 656, gaddreð 244, hoped 655, lened 634, liued 30, 518, 725, maked 22, 71, newed 55, 143, slaked 126, suned 264, 291, tokned 587, bitokned 198, 487.

**G.Ex.** biued (: liued) 2280, cleped 637 (= cleped, Köl. E.St. III, 282; cf. Morris, p. 134, Schum., p. 12), cleped 3330, clepit 2631, cliued (: liued) 1963 (cf. glossary), cliued (: liued) 2384, liued (: cliued) 1964, liued (: biued) 2279, (: cliued) 2383; 503,

2277, maked 1591, priked 3964, tokeneð 638, toknet 640 (cf. Fritzsche 72), wissed 2, wunedð (: munedð) 2410; 465.

*Note.* *spared*, G.Ex. 3587, pres. or pret. sg.

γγ. Ending in -(e)ð, -að in O.E.

**Best.** bekned 300 (*bekued* in the text is an erratum, the gloss has *bekned*) = beknedð (Mä.) (O.E. bēcnan, bēacnian), hungredð 506 (O.E. hyngan, -ian; *hungredð* is influenced by the sb.), spe-wedð 139 (O.E. spēowan, spīowan, spīowan, cf. N.E.D. spew, v.). — **G.Ex.** trewið 2037 (O.E. ȝetrēowian, ȝetriow(i)an, cf. Siev., § 408,2).

δδ. Native verbs not recorded in O.E.

**Best.** billeð 83, 84, 436 (< bill, sb<sup>2</sup>, N.E.D.), drecchedð 103 (cf. N.E.D. dretch, v<sup>2</sup>), gingid 327 (< ging, adj.), houedð 69, 525 (cf. N.E.D. hove, v<sup>1</sup>), putedð (: lutedð) 669 (= puts) (cf. N.E.D., C.O.D., and Skeat), sageð 640 (< saw, sb<sup>1</sup>, N.E.D.), smelleð 751, te-toggedð 420 (cf. N.E.D. tug, v), tolledð 545 (O.E. \*tollian, \*tullian, N.E.D., cf. Mä.)

**G.Ex.** deied 751 (O.E. \*degan; cf. N.E.D., Bj., Loanwords 66, Provenienz 12 ff.) spuredð 3970 (< spur, sb<sup>1</sup>, N.E.D.), timedð 4010 (< time, sb., cf. O.E. ȝetūmian, N.E.D.).

β. Ending in -ied in E.E.M. (in -að in O.E.).

**Best.** hatiedð 395 (O.E. hatian), rotiedð 409 (O.E. rotian).

γ. Ending in -es in E.E.M. — **Best.** bilimpes 362 (O.E. st. vb.)  
b. Contracted forms in E.E.M. — α. Old contract verbs.

**Best.** fled 148, 218, sedð (: teð) 65, sloð (: lod) 431, teð (: sed) 64; 361.

**G.Ex.** sedð (: bed) 181, (: med) 196, sloð (: wroð) 3964.

β. Other verbs (weak and strong). — **Best.** abit (: sit) 710, bet 299 (= offers, gloss.) (MS. ben), bit (= bites) 262, 269, 296, 481, 493, biwalt (MS. biwarlt) (: bihalt) 645, fint 292, flet (: get, adv.) 502, geld 440, gelt 418, hitt 471 (= hides), seit 703 (= says), under-set (: bet, adv.) 640, sit (: abit) 709; 644, 701, smit 507.

**G.Ex.** seid 1127, 1293, 1295, 1717, 1876, 2004, 2031, smit 3970.

c. Mixed forms in E.E.M. (O.E. weak and strong verbs).

**Chr.** haued 269/3. — **Best.** bit 432 (= bids), fededð 740, fet (: ket) 439; 301, 742 (= feeds), fret 422, 485, freteð 497, holdeð 696, bihalt (: biwalt (MS. biwarlt)) 644, biholdeð 472, haued 15, 19, 23, 225, 307, lat 429, 430, lated 358 (Native?, see Luick Gr.,

§ 363,s and Bülbr. Abl. 104), leigedð 359, liegð 24, lið 17, stant 1.

— **G.Ex.** bideð 3451, bit 2238 (= bids), alt 924 (= holds), holdet 1132, hað 2506, haued 301, 472, 847, 1709, 1769, 1903, 2038 (Emerson, Reader has *haued* in the text), 2609, 2706, 2826, 3183, 3216, 3588, 3684, 3746, 3831, 3952, 4006, 4121, hauet 384 (cf. Schum).

2. Verbs of foreign origin. a. Scandinavian.

**Best.** brinneð 316 (O.N. brinna, Bj. 182), calleð (: falleð) 651, fikedð 656 (? O.N. fíkja, cf. Bj. 145, 306), gapeð 506 (? O.N. gapa or O.E. \*gopian; cf. N.E.D.), hiledð 642 (O.N. hylja, Bj. 243), renneð 240, 477, reisedð 21 (O.N. reisa), swideð 70 (O.N. svíða, Bj. 166, 221), takedð 87, 98.

**G.Ex.** callidð 750, bi-calledð 2314, hiled 102, muneð (: wunedð) 2409 (O.N. muna, N.E.D. mone, v.), semet 2169 (O.N. sôma), takedð 1172, 1737.

*Note.* scriðed, G.Ex. 1715 (Schum. *scriðed*), Scand? Cf. Bj. 132, Holth. Arch. 109. Holth. believes it to be miswritten for *stridet* (O. Icel. *striða*).

b. French. **Best.** haledð 248, 394 (O.F. haler, N.E.D.), tired 438 (F. tirer).

**G.Ex.** greuedð 3818 (F. grever).

In the full forms the ending *-ed* (with the variations *-ed*, *-et*) prevails. The variation *-id* (*-id*) is sometimes found in Best. and G.Ex., (cf. Morsb., Gr. § 7, Anm.) *Bilimpes*, Best. 362, being the only inst. in our texts of this northern ending, is doubtful.

No syncope occurs in the 2nd pers. sg. pres. ind. in Chr., Best. and G.Ex.; few. insts. in Orrm., but in the 3rd person syncopated forms are not rare in Best., G.Ex., and Orrm. (sometimes by the side of full forms). The syncopated verbs are mostly those whose stem ends in *-d* or *-t* but these verb also show mixed forms, and of many verbs of this type only full forms are recorded. For exs. see the material above under full forms.

The form *fret*, Best. 422, 485, is prob. corrupt: *fretedð* would suit the metre better.

The number of syncopated forms, and of syncopated forms existing side by side with unsyncopated ones is, however, fairly large. As syncope is generally held to have been very rare in O.Anglian, the comparatively frequent occurrence of this pheno-

menon in E.E.M. (for Orrm. see Thüns, § 3) may be explained as due to the influence of southern dialects. If we consider them to represent O. Anglian syncopated forms we must assume a wider spread of syncope in O. Anglian than is commonly thought to have existed. The syncopated forms of the verbs whose stem ends in a dental are mostly in accordance with the rule laid down by Siev., § 359, a. The vowels of the forms *bihalt*, *biholded*, Best., *alt*, *holdet*, G.Ex., show the different influence of the cons. groups *-lt* and *-ld* (cf. Orrm. *hallt* but *haldenn*). In *telleð*, Best., G.Ex., (O.E. *teleþ*) the long cons. is introduced from the 1st pers. sg. pres. ind.

Native verbs not recorded in O.E. and the verbs of foreign origin all have full forms. For further discussion of the syncopation in E.E.M. see Thüns, §§ 3, 4 and Zenke, §§ 40, 41.

#### IV. Pres. plur. 1. Native verbs.

##### a. Ending in *-en* in E.E.M.

α. Ending in *-ab* in O.E. — **Chr.** *lien* 265/21. — **Best.** *dragen* (: *fagen*) 509, 532; 329, *fallen* 72, *felen* 510, *festen* 533, *bigen* 614, *forgeten* 574, *legen* 599, *leuen* 459, *slepen* 576, *swe-  
ren* 597, *winnen* (: *ðer-inne*) 521, *wurðen* 338 (J. Hall has *wur-  
den* in the text and declares (p. 585) *d* in *wurden* 250 (i. e. 338) etc. to be mostly due to the scribe's failure to complete *ð*). — **G.Ex.** *bringen* 2189, *giuen* 154, *seigen* 917, *welden* 50 (doubt-  
ful, cf. Holth. *Arch* 90, 144).

β. Ending in *-iab* in O.E. — **Best.** *folegen* 356, *forden* 367, *haten* 388, *noten* 612, *sampnen* 608, *stiren* 759, *sundren* 703, *weren* 590, *wiðeren* 475.

γ. The O.E. vb. has more than one form or inflection.

**Best.** *swiken* 601. (May represent O.E. *swīcan*, st. vb., or O.E. *swician*, wk. vb.)

δ. Native verbs not recorded in O.E.

**Best.** *houen* 511 (? cf. N.E.D. *hove*, v<sup>1</sup>), *slumeren* 576 (N.E.D. *slumber*, v.).

**G.Ex.** *stunden* 3211 (< *stound*, sb<sup>1</sup>, N.E.D.)

b. Ending in *-n* in E.E.M.

**Best.** *sen* (= *see*) 529. — **G.Ex.** *sen* 16 (O.E. contract vb.)

c. Ending in *-e* in E.E.M. (The subject is a pers. pron. of the 1st or 2nd person plur. coming immediately after the verb).

For the O.E. endings see Siev., § 360,2.

**Best.** fele we 675, haue we 382. — **G.Ex.** cume ge 2171, drege we 2208, haue we 3314, 3542, haue ge 2315, 2870, 3077, haue *ðe* 3597 certainly = haue ge (cf. Morris' marginal note and Holth. Angl. XV, 194).

d. No special ending in E.E.M. — **G.Ex.** sey we 4162 (cf. above).

e. Mixed forms in E.E.M.  $\alpha$ . Ending in *-ap* in O.E.

**Best.** cume 660, cumen 363, 579, 607, haue 794, hauen 237, 306 etc., wenen 530. — **G.Ex.** haue 3054, hauen 1425, 1856 etc., wen (: ben) 3809, wenen 3812.

$\beta$ . Ending in *-iab* in O.E. — **G.Ex.** wune (: sune) 1156, 1254 (cf. wune, inf., 785), wunen 300, 332, 2464.

## 2. Verbs of foreign origin.

a. Scandinavian. **Best.** brennen (: rennen) 339; 337, reisen 671 (O.N. *reisa*), rennen (: brennen) 340. — **G.Ex.** munen (: sunen, sb. pl.) 558.

b. French. No ex.

*Note 1.* On *aglen*, G.Ex. 3809, cf. Bj. 110 and N.E.D. *ail*, v.

*Note 2.* *Hulen*, Best. 396, is very problematic, probably corrupt (cf. J. Hall).

The pres. plur. ending *-en* is one of the most conspicuous characteristics of the Midland dials. The *-n* is seldom dropped in E.E.M. except when the subject is a pers. pron. of the 1st and 2nd person plur. which comes immediately after the verb. In the latter case the *-n* is nearly always dropped.

As the normal representative of the O.E. ending *-ap* would be *-ep* in M.E., the appearance of *-en* must be explained as due to analogical influence. Opinions differ concerning the origin of this ending. Some (e. g. Morsb. *Schriftspr.*, p. 134, Sweet, N.E. Gr. I, 378) suggest analogical influence from the pres. subj. and also from the pret. ind. and subj. — Rodeffer, p. 18, and Wyld, *Short Hist.*, § 329 declare the ending to be introduced from the optative (subjunctive).

W. F. Bryan (in *Modern Philology* 1921, p. 457 ff.) thinks the pres. plur. ind. of the preterite-present verbs and such forms

of the substantive verb as *sindon*, *earon*, and *bipon* to be likely sources of this ending.

The statements of Rodeffer, p. 13 ff., make the theory of analogical influence of the optative quite acceptable, but on the other hand the relative frequency of the forms mentioned by Bryan (see above) make his suggestion quite probable, too. Probably there has been cooperating influence from all the forms mentioned.

### Present Subjunctive.

#### I. Sing. 1. Native verbs.

a. Ending in *-e* in E.E.M.

α. Ending in *-e* in O.E. — **Best.** *falle* 624, *fare* 114 (twice), *fede* 304, *haue* 226, *here* 2, *leue* 303, *rewe* 286 (Wright, *Reliquiae, has repe*), *tide* (: side, sb.) 623, *waxe* 271. — **G.Ex.** *bere* (: *dere*, pres. subj.) 3513, *berge* 2529, *ut-fare* (: *gare*, adj. pl.) 2865, *for-giue* (: *liuen*, pers. subj. plur.) 2495, *for-hele* (: *stele*, pres. subj.) 3512, *helpe* 2528, *here* 3426, *lede* 4158, *lete* 2796, *leue* 2532, *s(e)hilde* 2525, 4157, *shire* (: *hire*) 2036, *stele* (: *for-hele*, pres. subj.) 3511, *werne* 2797.

β. Ending in *-ie* in O.E. — **G.Ex.** *fride* (: *siðe*) 3094; 2335, *make* (: *take*, pres. subj.) 3493.

Native verbs not recorded in O.E. — **Best.** *negge* 4, *smake* 4.

b. No special ending in E.E.M. — **Best.** *se* 146, 150 (Old contract vb.).

c. Mixed forms in E.E.M. (Ending in *-e* in O.E.)

**Best.** *derie* 252, *forwurðe* 270. — **G.Ex.** *dere* (: *bere*, pres. subj.) 3514, *deren* (: *here[n]*) 2480, *wurð* 2135, 2332, *wurde* 2057, 2074.

#### 2. Verbs of foreign origin.

a. Scandinavian.

**G.Ex.** *gete* (: *mete*) 1497, *take* (: *make*, pres. subj.) 3494, *wante* 2244.

b. French. **G.Ex.** *graunte* 2536, *serue* 1716.

#### II. Plur. 1. Native verbs.

a. Ending in *-en* in E.E.M.

α. Ending in *-en* in O.E. — **Best.** *fecchen* 352 (see Siev., § 416, Anm. 15 b), *heren* 51. — **G.Ex.** *charen* (: *faren*, inf.) 3010.

*Note.* *coman*, Chr. 265/4, traditional spelling.

- β. Ending in *-ien* in O.E. — **G.Ex.** *liuen* (: for-giue, pres. subj. sg.) 2496, *waren* (: for-faren) 1088.
- γ. Native verbs not recorded in O.E. — **Best.** *dillen* (: fillen, inf.) 383 (cf. N.E.D. *dull*, v.).
- b. Ending in *-n* in E.E.M. — **Best.** *ten* (: *flen*) 353 (Old contract verb).
- c. Ending in *-e* in E.E.M. No ex.

The old ending *-e* in the pres. subj. sing. is as a rule preserved in writing. Verbs of foreign origin also take this ending. The *-e* is dropped in *wurd*, G.Ex. 2135, 2332. In the former place the verb is followed by a word beginning with a vowel and thus *wurd* is a phonetic spelling for *wurde*, if genuine. In v. 2332 *wurd* is doubtful; it may be corrected into *wurde*, but the unstressed syllable is frequently missing in G.Ex. between the third and fourth stressed syllables (cf. Fritzsche, p. 52).

In the plural the endings agree with the O.E. ones, with the exception of the dropping of *-i-*, mentioned below. Note, however, the rhyme *liuen* : *for-giue*, G.Ex., which suggests dropping of the *-n*; cf. pres. plur. ind., above.

## Imperative.

### I. Sing. 1. Native verbs.

- a. No special ending in E.E.M.
- z. No special ending in O.E. — **Best.** *help* 184, *let* 202, 778, *list* 713 (cf. gloss.), *swic* 193. — **G.Ex.** *beat* 3506, *bruc* 1831, *ches* 3665, *cum* 2791, *del* 3239, *on-dreg* (: neg) 3319, *far* 1288, 3987, *get* 2815 (O.E. *gēotan*), *help* 3507, *her* 3525, *hold* 3238, *led* 3110, 3607, *let* 1809, 3111, 3499, 4106, 4107, *quad* 3988, *rend* 3506, *bi-sek* 3093, *sent* 2825, *slo* 1939, 3505, *smit* 3360, *stig* 4100, *ðenk* 3563, *wend* 3510, *werp* 2803.
- β. Ending in *-e*, *-a* in O.E. — **Best.** *sei* 208. — **G.Ex.** *ley* 4113, or 3603 (< O.E. *ārian*, Kōlb. E.St. III), *sei* 3003, 3445, *sey* 4114, *sel* 1495, *swer* 3498, *tel* 2056, *ðanc* 1320, *wurd* 3503 (= honour).
- b. Ending in *-e* in E.E.M. a. Ending in *-a*, *-e* in O.E.
- Best.** *herkne* 630, *newe* 179. — **G.Ex.** *aske* 1668, *clense* 3453, *forðe* 1372, *gisce* 3515, *holge* 3501, *haue* 1831.

β. No special ending in O.E. **Best.** deme 186, feste 182, 211 (see Bj. 237), walke 189. — **G.Ex.** sende 2820.

c. Mixed forms in E.E.M. α. No special ending in O.E.

**Best.** know 165. — **G.Ex.** knowe 397, gif 1492, 1570, giue 31.

β. Ending in -a, -e in O.E. **Best.** bid 194. — **G.Ex.** bid 1085, bidde 3454, loc 3331, 3987, loke 3493, 3511, mac 3541, make (MS. made) (: take) 3455.

2. Verbs of foreign origin. a. Scandinavian.

**Best.** feg 210 (O.N. fágja, N.E.D. and Bj. 237). — **G.Ex.** tac 1287, 3497, 4111.

b. French. **G.Ex.** serf 1685 (O.F. servir).

II. Plur. 1. Native verbs.

a. Ending in -et, -ed in E.E.M. α. Ending in -ad in O.E.

**Best.** hereð 61, listnedð 398 (see N.E.D. listen, v.) — **G.Ex.** beredð 2243, cumedð 3485, drededð 2343, 3129, hotedð 2510, leatedð 3726, leded 398 (cf. Notes), leredð 3486, lested 2510 (cf. gloss.).

β. Ending in -iad in O.E. No ex.

b. Ending in -d in E.E.M. — **G.Ex.** seid 2350 (O.E. secg(e)ad).

2. Verbs of foreign origin. a. Scandinavian.

**G.Ex.** liðedð 2077 (O.N. hlýða, Bj. 115), rapedð 2349 (O.N. hrapa, Bj. 251).

b. French. No ex.

*Note.* The adhortative plur. imp. with postposition of the pers. pron. of the 1st (or 2nd) person has the following forms:

a. Ending in -e in E.E.M. α. Ending in -e in O.E.

**Best.** bimene we 798, helde we 233, leue we 723, 725 (cf. foot-note 2 in the text), seke we 287, wende we 719.

**G.Ex.** bi-seke we 4155, wende we 3267.

β. Ending in -ie in O.E. — **Best.** luue we 718.

**G.Ex.** make we it 1777 prob. = make wit (dual).

b. No special ending in E.E.M.

**G.Ex.** slo we 1939 (old contract verb), go we 2937.

In Orrm. the sing. of the imperative is nearly always uninlected. The two exceptions *loke* 12789, 13585, *offre* 14669, 14689 allow of special explanations: *loke* stands at the end of the sep-

tenar and is thus required by the metre, *offre* stands before a vowel within the verse, the *-e* having no phonetic value and is prob. only used in order to distinguish the verb from the preposition *offr* (cf. Thüns, § 8, Anm. 1, Zenke, § 45).

In G.Ex. the imp. is also commonly uninflected, generally corresponding to O.E. uninflected forms, but also to such as took *-e*, *-a* in O.E. Not a few, however, have the ending *-e* in E.E.M., both such as ended in *-a*, *-e* in O.E. and such as were uninflected in O.E. In some vbs. (corresponding to O.E. uninflected forms as well as to such in *-a*, *-e*) there was a mixture of forms in *-e* and uninflected ones in E.E.M. That the uninflected form was the common one in E.E.M. is shown not only by what is said above about the forms in Orrm. and the native verbs in Best. and G.Ex. but also by the fact that the verbs of Scand. and French origin in Best. and G.Ex. are also uninflected in the sing. of the imp. The predominance of the uninflected forms makes it easily understood that many verbs ending in *-a*, *-e* in O.E., dropped the *-e* in E.E.M. by analogy. The retention of *-e* in some of the verbs which ended in *-a*, *-e* in O.E. and the analogical adoption of *-e* in those which were uninflected in O.E. is not so easily accounted for. It may be due to the verse in some cases, e. g. *Best.* herkne 630, newe 179, *G.Ex.* knowe 397 (hiatus), forðe 1372, halge 3501, but as this is not true in every instance, e. g., *G.Ex.* aske 1668, bidde 3454, haue 1831, sende 2820, which are followed by words beginning with a vowel, or *G.Ex.* clense 3453, gisce 3515, giue 31, loke 3511, followed by an unstressed syllable beginning with a cons., this will not do as a general explanation. Moreover, the following monosyllabic forms are followed by a word beginning with a vowel and are prob. to be considered as phonetic spellings: *G.Ex.* mac 3541, swer 3498, ðanc 1320. Of course, the scribe may be responsible for (some of) the above forms.

The regular native ending *-eð* in the plur. is also adopted by the verbs of foreign (Scand.) origin. *Seid*, *G.Ex.* 2350 (O.E. *secg(e)adð*), is a new analogical form.

### Infinitive.

1. Native verbs. a. Ending in *-en* in E.E.M.
- a. Ending in *-an* in O.E. For exs. see p. 1 ff. and p. 23 ff.

- β. Ending in *-ian* in O.E. For exs. see p. 32 ff.
- γ. Native verbs not recorded in O.E. For exs. see p. 37 f.
- b. Ending in *-ien* in E.E.M. — **Best.** her[t]ien 364 (Doubtful!

Perhaps < O.E. *hierstan* = encourage; cf. J. Hall).

For verbs in *-ien* in E.E.M. see also verbs with mixed forms in E.E.M. and those of French origin.

- c. Ending in *-n* in E.E.M. For exs. see pp. 2 ff., 50 ff.
- d. Ending in an unstressed *-e* in E.E.M.
- α. Ending in *-an* in O.E. — **G.Ex.** dreue (: eue) 318, tunde 866 (O.E. *týnan*, Fritzsche 67).

β. Ending in *-ian* in O.E. — **G.Ex.** hunte 314 (see E.St. III, 279 f.).

- e. Mixed forms in E.E.M. α. Ending in *-an* in O.E.

**Chr.** bæron 264/19, 22, faren 262/29, 264/30, 268/29, lien 264/22, sægen 265/30, 267/21, sæin 265/10, sei 263/11, be suiken 267/10. — **Best.** beren 263, 620, chare (: warre) 581, faren 731, heren 205, seien 501, biswike (: dernelike) 429, biswiken (: bigripen) 515. — **G.Ex.** bere (: gere, sb. sg.) 1465, beren (: deren, inf.) 787; 8, 118, 120 etc., blinne (: sinne, sb. sg.) 289, blinnen 1963, charen (: (ut-)fare, inf.) 1712, 2436, 3055 etc., fare (: chare) 2389, faren etc., see p. 17, forfare 1134, here 3473, heren 1370, 2531, lin 942, seien 1139, 2795, seyen 3561, seigen 2494.

*Note.* Here I also place *fele*, G.Ex. 3498 (O.E. a, be, ȝefýlan, see N.E.D. file, v.<sup>2</sup>) because of *filenn*, Orrm. 4493, inf.).

β. Ending in *-ian* in O.E. — **Chr.** hauen 266/20. — **Best.** hauen 196, luumen 372, luuien 170, wunen 522. — **G.Ex.** fonde 4061, fonden 3476, 3946, friðe 1520, friðen 786, 1070, haue (: knaue) 2847, hauen etc., see p. 43, wattre 1648, wattren 2745, wune 785, wunen (: cumen, inf.) 306, (: numen) 367, (: sune, sb. sg.) 404, 932; 406 etc.

*Note.* Here perhaps also: *G.Ex.* dere (: were, sb. sg.) 1588; 4047, inf., Morris; inf. 4047, Kölb. E.St. III, 331 (dere 3514, 3566, not infinitives; cf. gloss.), deren (: beren, inf. and pret.?) pl.) 788, 1188 (: weren, inf.) 1271, (: sheren, inf.) 2348.

γ. Ending in *-n* in O.E. — **G.Ex.** bi-se (: bee, 3rd sg. pres. subj.) 4107, cf. sen (: ben, inf.) 225, 279, (: a-gen, adv.) 1795.

*Note.* The substantive verb has the inf. forms *be* and *ben* in G.Ex., see Anomalous vbs.; *do* occurs twice (once?) in G.Ex., otherwise *don*. Kölbing, E.St. III, has overlooked *do* 1754.

## 2. Verbs of foreign origin.

- a. Scandinavian.  $\alpha$ . Ending in *-en* in E.E.M. For exs. see p. 22, p. 44 f. —  $\beta$ . Other endings. No ex.
- b. Continental Germanic. **G.Ex.** *speren* 2194.
- c. French.  $\alpha$ . Ending in *-en* in E.E.M. For exs. see p. 46. —  $\beta$ . Ending in *-ien* in E.E.M. **Chr.** *uuerrien* 263/21.

*Note.* *serue*, G.Ex. 1715, is doubtful (cf. Schum., Morris, and Kölb., E.St. III, 300).

The great majority of infs. end in *-en* in E.E.M. For the rare dropping of the final *-n* see below.

For the loss and retention of *-i-* in the weak verbs see below.

*Lien*, *lin*, *Chr.*, *G.Ex.*, *sægen*, *sæin*, *seien*, *seigen*, etc., *Chr.*, *Best.*, and *G.Ex.*, are formed by analogy.

No inst. of the inflected inf. is found in *Chr.*, *Best.*, or *G.Ex.*

### Present Participle.

## 1. Native verbs.

- a. Ending in *-end(e)* in E.E.M.  $\alpha$ . Ending in *-ende* in O.E. **Chr.** *ridend* 265/4, *sittende* 264/31. — **G.Ex.** *betende* 2713, *stondende* 3149 (doubtful; cf. Schum. 26; left out by Fritzsche, p. 81).  $\beta$ . Ending in *-iende* in O.E. **G.Ex.** *lockende* (: *specande*, pres. partic.) 2822.

- b. Ending in *-iende* in E.E.M.  $\alpha$ . Ending in *-iende* in O.E. **G.Ex.** *wuniende* 2742. —  $\beta$ . Ending in *-ende* in O.E. No ex.

- c. Ending in *-ande* in E.E.M.  $\alpha$ . Ending in *-ende* in O.E. **Best.** *cripelande* 130, *figtande* 159, *sacande* 660 (cf. the text and foot-note 4, *ibid.*). — **G.Ex.** *sigande* 1436, *specande* (: *lockende*, pres. partic.) 2821 (Eilers, p. 104, seems to be inclined to read *specende* instead of *specande*).

*Note.* Here perhaps also: *winand*, G.Ex. 4055 (MS. *win and*). Accord. to Schum., p. 32 = *winand* = *gewinnend*.

$\beta$ . Ending in *-ende* and *-iende* in O.E. **G.Ex.** *tuderande* 164 (O.E. *tydran*, *tyddr(i)an*).

*Note 1.* To the above material may be added *gangande* (: *stan-den*, inf.) *Best.* 654, the form, however, being doubtful.

*Note 2.* *Fundend*, *G.Ex.* 1082, is not pres. partic. (cf. glossary).

*Note 3.* Fritzsche, p. 81, gives *drogende*, G.Ex. 977, as pres. partic. though with a sign of interrogation. The text has *drogen* (= *drogende*, suffering, gloss.). *Drogen* may just as well be an inf.

*Note 4.* *Brennen*, G.Ex. 2653, = *brennende*; *stinken*, G.Ex. 1164 = *stinkende* (Glossary and Preface XXIV, cf. marginal note, p. 34, in the text). Fritzsche 81 gives *brennende* 2653 as a pres. partic., also with a note of interrogation.

## 2. Verbs of foreign origin.

- a. Scandinavian. **Best.** *rennande* 667.
- b. French. No ex.

The ending of the pres. partic. is of great interest as a M.E. dialect criterion. In *Chr.* the ending is always *-end(e)*. In *Orrm.* *-ennde* (Thüns, § 12, cf. Anm., *ibid.*). In *Best.* always *-ande*. In *G.Ex.* the material is somewhat uncertain: forms in *-ende* rhyming with such in *-ande*. Out of rhyme both endings are found. Considering the fact that *-ende* occurs in the *Chr.* and in the *Orrm.* and *-ande* in the *Best.* it seems quite probable that both *-ande* and *-ende* existed in *G.Ex.* (cf. Holmqvist 44). The rhymes *-ande* : *-ende* in *G.Ex.* may be phonetically incorrect or careless. It is remarkable, however, that the more northern texts *Orrm.* and *Chr.* both have only *-ende*, whereas in the more southern *Best.* and *G.Ex.* *-ande* occurs, which ending is typically northern. The ending *-ande* in *Best.* and *G.Ex.* therefore seems very doubtful to me, but it is impossible to ascertain if this ending belonged to the dialects of the texts (by northern influence), or how far the scribe(s) may be responsible for its appearance.

*Note.* Pres. participles which are used as substs. (and adjs.) also end in *-ande*, *-ende* in *G.Ex.*: *offrande* 1298, *offrende* 1309, 1312, 1503, 3631, *ofrende* 1314 (with the plural forms *offrendes* 1627, *ofrendes* 3551), *Best.* *seppande* 456 (cf. *Shippennd*, *Hælennde*, *Orrm.*). *Offrande*, *of(f)rende* represent O.F. *ofrende*, but the form *offrande* in *G.Ex.* shows that it has been associated with the pres. partic. of the vb. O.E. *offrian* (cf. N.E.D. *offrand*, *offerand*).

The *-i-* of the present stem of verbs belonging to class II of weak verbs is nearly always lost in E.E.M. In *Best.* we find the inf. *luuien* besides *luuen* (O.E. *-ian*) and in *G.Ex.* the pres. partic. *wuniende* (O.E. *-iende*). As to *hatiet*, *rotiet*, 3 pers. sing., pres.

ind., Best., the *-i*- did not exist in the corresponding O.E. form (O.E. *-ad*) but is analogically introduced in E.E.M. This is also the case with *weries*, 2 pers. sg., pres. ind., G.Ex., belonging to class I of weak verbs; cf. *derie*, Best., (besides *dere*, G.Ex.), pres. subj. sing. As to the inf. *uerrien*, Chr., cf. N.E.D. *war*, v.<sup>1</sup>, Kluge's Lesebuch (glossary), Behrens, Französische Studien III, 423. No *-i*- occurs in any verb in Orrm. (Zenke, § 38). No traces of u/a- and i-umlaut are found in the present stem in E.E.M. (cf. Zenke, l. c.). With regard to the absence of *-i*- in Orrm., the sporadic forms with an *-i*- in the other E.E.M. texts may not be genuine.

### Preterite Indicative.

#### 1. Native verbs.

a. O.E. strong verbs. *aa*. Sing. *aa*. 1st and 3rd pers. *aaa*. No special ending in E.E.M. For exs. see p. 1 ff.

*βββ*. Mixed forms in E.E.M. — **Chr.** *iaf* 262/30 etc., *waex* 266/16. — **G.Ex.** *bad*, *bead*, *bed*, see p. 5, *bade* 2436, *gaf* 232, 238 etc., *gafe* 1500, *wexe* 3749.

*Note 2.* *G.Ex.* *bargt* 898, *sagt* 1301 (Zupitza has *sag*), *scroðt* 339 are mere miswritings; cf. *barg* 1330, 3477, *seroð* (: *loð*, adj.) 2023, 2695; 1055, 1834 (*bargt* 898 perhaps = *barg it*).

*ββ*. 2nd pers. No ex.

*β*. Plur. *aa*. Ending in *-en* in E.E.M. For exs. see p. 1 ff.

*ββ*. Mixed forms in E.E.M. — **Chr.** *wurðe* 263/23, *wurþen* 263/3, *wurthen* 267/2. — **G.Ex.** *funde* 3299, *funden* 1973, 2948 etc., *fundend* 1082 (see Morris' notes), *gun* 2558, *gune* 3135, *gunen* 351, 2378, 3223, *gunne* 218, 1344, 1953, *gunnen* 534, *wex* 1917 (= *wexe*, gloss.), *wexen* 599, 1479 etc., *wurðen* 286, 667 etc.

*Note 1.* In *Chr.* some forms occur which deviate from the above. In some the traditional O.E. endings are still kept in writing, e. g. *bræcon* 264/17, *coman* 265/4, *under gæton* 263/33, *heoldon* 266/35 (cf. *comen* 263/23, *helden* 263/20, 267/17, *heolden* 263/35, 264/2). In *flugæn* 265/4 the vowel of the ending is only an orthographic variant of the usual spelling (cf. Meyer).

*Note 2.* *Stali*, *Chr.* 267/2, owes its *-i* to the scribe's anticipation of the following *i* in *hi*. The *-n* is dropped before the subject pronoun (in O.E. only in 1st and 2nd person).

b. O.E. weak verbs. aa. Sing.  $\alpha$ . 1st and 3rd pers.

$\alpha\alpha$ . Ending in *-e* in E.E.M. For exs. see p. 23 ff.

$\beta\beta$ . No special personal ending in E.E.M.

$\alpha\alpha\alpha$ . The pret. ends in *-t* in E.E.M. — **Chr.** mint 265/22. —

**G.Ex.** fest 2703, 3797 (On Scand. influence see above).

$\beta\beta\beta$ . The pret. ending is *-ed* etc. in E.E.M. — **Chr.** goded 265/16, scatered 263/27, smoked 264/10. — **G.Ex.** kenned 216, heled 229, loked 193, 3810, spared 3587 (perh. pres.), stired (:hird)(?) 3961; 3580, trewed 2385, trewid 1031, waked (: maked, pp.) 2516.

$\gamma\gamma$ . Mixed forms in E.E.M.  $\alpha\alpha\alpha$ . The pret. ends in *-d*, *-de* in E.E.M.

**Chr.** laed 266/25. — **G.Ex.** ledde 89, 92, bi-tid 2181 (pres., Morris and Mä.; pret., Schum.), bi-tidde 3861, told 862, 2123, 2907, 3741, tolde 321, 1401, 1403 etc.

$\beta\beta\beta$ . The pret. ends in *-t*, *-te* in E.E.M.

**Best.** ðogte 455. — **G.Ex.** brogt 219, 608, 1439, 4048, brogte 21, 395, 870, 882, 2634 etc., bi-ment 4150, bi-mente 1217, set 1962, sette 251, 1278, 1623 etc., ð(h)ogt 1752, 2015, ðoht 2298, ð(h)ogte 319, 333, 438, 948 etc.

$\gamma\gamma\gamma$ . The pret. endings are *-d*, *-de*, *-te* in E.E.M.

**Chr.** to dælde 268/5, to deld 263/27. — **G.Ex.** delte 941.

$\delta\delta\delta$ . The pret. endings are *-ed* etc., and *-ede* in E.E.M.

**Chr.** macod 263/29, makede 263/10, 264/2, 265/27 (twice), etc., maket 266/1 (pret., according to gloss. and Meyer 85).

**Best.** likede 31. — **G.Ex.** blisced 163, bliscede 128, 1546, 4036, cleped 1198, clepede 1274, 4099, clepit 2631, dered 2596, derede 242, liked 4029, likede 2299, disliked 4011, disliked 1728, luued 1612, luuede 1443, 2009, wuned 1133, wunede 789, 811 etc.

$\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$ . The pret. endings are *-ed*, *-te* in E.E.M.

**G.Ex.** missed 1961, miste 3872, 3874, ðreated 4125, ðrette 2023, 3729, wended 1904, wente 606, 985.

*Note.* For the endings in the pret. forms of *hauen*, *maken* see p. 42 f.

$\beta$ . 2nd pers. No ex.

$\beta\beta$ . Plur.  $\alpha$ . Ending in *-en* in E.E.M. For exs. see p. 23 ff.

—  $\beta$ . Ending in *-e* in E.E.M. — **G.Ex.** solde 1955. —  $\gamma$ . No special ending in E.E.M. — **G.Ex.** shewed 1971, stired 3580.

$\delta$ . Mixed forms in E.E.M.

αα. The pret. endings are *-te*, *-ten* in E.E.M. — **G.Ex.** wente 798 (pl., Köl. E.St. III, 283 f.), 1033, wenten 533, 623, 1149 etc.

ββ. The pret. endings are *-ed*, *-ede*, *-eden* in E.E.M.

**Chr.** byrieden 265/34, bebyried 265/36 (*bebiriend* 263/8 is a corrupt form, cf. Meyer 85; = bebirieden, gloss. — Emerson, Reader, prints *bebiriēden* in the text), pined 264/8, pineden 265/32.

*Note.* Sometimes other vowels than *-e* are found, e. g. *Chr.* fæston 267/10. *G.Ex.* hertedin 1980.

c. Native verbs not recorded in O.E.

α. Sing. αα. 1st and 3rd pers.

ααα. Ending in *-e* in E.E.M. For exs. see p. 36 ff.

βββ. No special ending in E.E.M. — **Chr.** scattered 263/27. —

**G.Ex.** ðwertyd 1324.

γγγ. Mixed forms in E.E.M. — **Best.** taunede 767. — **G.Ex.** tauned 3444 (pres.?), taunede 636, 757, tawned 4118.

ββ. 2nd pers. No ex.

β. Plur. αα. Ending in *-en* in E.E.M. For exs. see p. 36 f.

ββ. Ending in *-e* in E.E.M. — **Chr.** cursede 265/6.

2. Verbs of foreign origin. a. Scandinavian.

aa. O.N. weak verbs. α. Sing. αα. 1st and 3rd pers.

ααα. Ending in *-e* in E.E.M. For exs. see p. 44 f.

βββ. No special ending in E.E.M. — **G.Ex.** hiled 102 (pres.?).

ββ. 2nd pers. No exs.

β. Plur. αα. Ending in *-en* in E.E.M. For exs. see p. 44 f.

ββ. No special ending in E.E.M. — **G.Ex.** ðrist 2110.

*Note.* Traditional spelling is found in *brendon*, Chr. 264/29; cf. *brenden*, Chr. 265/1.

bb. O.N. strong verbs.

α. Sing. No special ending. For exs. see p. 22.

β. Plur. **Chr.** tocan 263/20. — **G.Ex.** token (:loken) 3194; 2200.

b. Continental Germanic. — **G.Ex.** unspered 25 (3rd sing.).

c. French. α. Sing. αα. 1st and 3rd pers.

ααα. Ending in *-e* in E.E.M. For exs. see p. 45 f.

βββ. No special ending in E.E.M. — **G.Ex.** iusted 1589.

γγγ. Mixed forms in E.E.M. — **G.Ex.** serued 1061, seruede 1692, 2051.

ββ. 2nd pers. No ex.

β. Plur. Ending in *-en* in E.E.M. For exs. see p. 46.

The forms of the 1st and 3rd person sing. of strong verbs usually have no special ending in E.E.M. A few take *-e*, some of which are new weak formations, as *besatte*, *gette*, *helde*, *wurde*. *Wurde*, G.Ex. 1943, prob. = *wurd e*(he).

*Bade*, *gafe*, *wexe*, G.Ex., are followed by words beginning with a vowel and are monosyllabic in the verse.

The plural nearly always takes the ending *-en*, the *-n* being seldom dropped. *Gun*, G.Ex. 2558, may stand for *gune* (h- follows in the verse).

In the 1st and 3rd pers. sing. of the pret. ind. by far the greater number of weak verbs retain the ending *-e* in writing, but loss of *-e* is not rare, as the material proves. The latter forms are mostly followed by an unstressed syllable beginning with a vowel and they may be regarded as phonetic spellings (if genuine).

The forms in *-ed* are in many cases doubtful as they may be present tense. (Emerson, Reader, has *trewed* in the text, G.Ex. 2385; this seems incorrect because of the pret. *abraid*, *sag* of the context.) The verbs of foreign origin also mostly take *-e* in the sing. The forms *hiled*, *unspered*, *iusted*, G.Ex., are followed by words beginning with a vowel (but *serued*, ibid. 1061, is not). They may be explained in the same way as the native ones. There are only three insts. of the 2nd pers. pret. ind. As in the pres., the ending is *-es* and *-est*. For further commentary see the pres. ind.

The plural of the pret. ind. of weak verbs nearly always ends in *-en*. In a few cases the *-n* or *-en* is dropped. They are perhaps all corrupt. *Solde*, G.Ex. 1955, may be due to the scribe mistaking *Ioseph* for the subject. *Wente*, ibid., is prob. also corrupt. The scribe mistook *abram* for the subject. The punctuation is also wrong, as is shown by Kölbing, l. c.: there should be no semicolon after *canaan*, but a comma after *sarray*. Before *bileften* should be placed *and* or *he*. — *Shewed*, *stired*, G.Ex., may be corruptions of *shewede*, *stirede* (with dropping of *-n*); note also that both the forms are followed by words beginning with a vowel. The forms *bebyried*, *pined*, Chr., are prob. corrupt, as the regular forms of both verbs occur in the same text. It seems to me improbable

that they indicate the beginning tendency to drop the endings, because of the scarcity of the instances of this phenomenon.

The verbs of foreign origin nearly all take *-en* in the pret. ind. plur. The form *drist*, G.Ex. 2110, = *driste*, according to the glossary; but prob. *dristen* should be read instead of *drist hem*.

### Preterite Subjunctive.

1. Native verbs. a. O.E. strong verbs.  $\alpha$ . Sing.  
 $\alpha\alpha$ . Ending in *-e* in E.E.M. — **Chr.** bare 263/11, helde 268/11.  
 — **Best.** come 35, holde 164, sete 504, soge 502. — **G.Ex.** bode 1594, come 464, goue 3941, gunne 218, wið-holde 1714, bi-leue 1716, mide 3807 (cf. Notes), nome 3341, sluge 3976, storue 1958, wexe 554.  
 $\beta\beta$ . No special ending in E.E.M. — **G.Ex.** stod 2059.  
 $\beta$ . Plur. **G.Ex.** wurden 3559, 3721.  
 b. O.E. weak verbs.  $\alpha$ . Sing. **G.Ex.** wente 1097. — *Note* had ic, G.Ex. 3976. —  $\beta$ . Plur. **Best.** wuneden 617.
2. Verbs of foreign origin. a. Scandinavian. — **G.Ex.** toke 1531, 1593 (sing.). — b. French. — **G.Ex.** serue 3816 (sing.).

The stem-vowel of the forms in many cases does not represent a regular development of the corresponding O.E. vowel. The vowel of the pret. subj. of strong vbs. regularly being the same as that of the pret. plur. ind. of strong vbs., the explanation of the irregular vowels which appear also in the pret. plur. ind. is not repeated here. (From the pret. plur. ind. the irregular stem-vowels may have been introduced into the pret. subj., because of the fact that the vowels of these forms are otherwise the same.) *Bode*, G.Ex., (O.E. *bide*) implies a pret. plur. *boden*, which would have got its vowel from the pret. sing. Such a pret. pl. form is not found in E.E.M., but is not unknown to other dials. (see N.E.D.).

*Mide* had *ð* analogically already in O.E. (cf. Notes). The endings of the forms regularly are *-e* in the sing. and *-en* in the plural both of native and foreign verbs. *Stod*, G.Ex. 2059, is followed by a word beginning with a vowel, and is a phonetic or corrupt form of *stode*. *Had ic*, G.Ex. 3976, if subj., might be accounted for in the same way.

### Past Participle.

1. Native verbs. a. O.E. strong verbs.
  - α. Ending in (unstressed) *-en* in E.E.M. For exs. see p. 1 ff.
  - β. Ending in *-n* in E.E.M. and O.E. — **Best.** sen 237. — **G.Ex.** bi-sen (: ben, inf.) 1411.
  - γ. No special ending in E.E.M. — **G.Ex.** let (: schet, pret. sg.) 476, sad (: bad, pret. sg.) 58; 116 etc.
  - δ. Mixed forms in E.E.M. — **G.Ex.** bi-geten (: for-geten, inf. and pp.) 911, 1151, bi-gote 2618, cume 1432, comen (: numen, pp.) 344, cumen (: (bi)numen, pp.) 365, 619 etc., boren (: bi(-forn) 84, 220 etc., born (: bi-forn) 906, geue 301, geuen (: liuen, pres. pl. and inf.) 2458, 2609, giuen (: driuen, pp.) 1682.

*Note.* *wune* (: sune, sb. sg.), G.Ex. 1156, should be *cume*, pp., accord. to Holth. Angl. XV, 192.

Most strong verbs have *-en* in the pp.; old contract vbs. end in *-n*. *Let*, *sad*, G.Ex., are weak pps. Rhymes like *boren* : *biforn* show that the *-e-* in *-en* is sometimes slurred over, as is also seen by the spelling *born* (: bi-forn), G.Ex. 906 (cf. Morris XLI and Fritzsche 51).

The loss of the final *-n* in the inf., pres. and pret. pl., and pp. is, as seen above, not common. There is, however, a distinct carelessness with regard to the insertion and omission of the final *-n* in G.Ex. (sometimes also in Best.), also in rhymes. Probably the scribe was responsible for this to a great extent. This does not apply to vbs. whose stem ends in a nasal + cons., in which the dropping of *-n* is common both in East and West Midl. dials. in early M.E. (cf. Wyld, Short Hist., § 204, Morsb. Gr., p. 17).

2. O.E. weak verbs. α. Full forms in E.E.M. (ending in *-ed*, *-id* etc.) αα. Ending in *-od*, *-ad* in O.E. For exs. see p. 32 ff.

*Note.* Here also *helid*, G.Ex. 1636.

- ββ. Ending in *-ed* in O.E. For exs. see p. 23 ff. Other exs. are: **Best.** eried 402. — **G.Ex.** waried 544.

- γγ. Ending in *-(e)d* in O.E. — **Orrm.** beldedd 2746, beoldedd 2870, forrblandedd D. 76, H. 5712 etc., oferrgilded 2612 (cf. N.E.D. gild, v.<sup>1</sup>).

δδ. Ending in *-ed*, *-t* in O.E. — **Orrm.** fasstedd 11748, metedd 1047, rihhtedd 9208, 9654, wrežedd 6901, 8236 (O.E. wrēgan, pp. wrēged, wrēht, Bosw.). — **G.Ex.** rigted 3427.

εε. The O.E. verb has more than one form or inflection.

**Orrm.** cwennkedd 4417, 5729 etc., unncwennkedd 10491 (cf. O.E. acwencan, pp. *-ed*, *-d*, *-t*, Bosw.), dwelledd 226, fražnedd 12973, 12975, 19628, fullfremedd 1576, 2530 etc., allfullfremedd 4151 (O.E. fremman, fremian), forrhunngredd 5679, 11567 etc. (O.E. hyngr(i)an, influenced by the sb., O.E. hungor), smeredd 994, 1471 etc. (O.E. smerian, smierwan etc.), wacnedd 5843 (O.E. wæcnan, *-ian* etc.).

ζζ. Native verbs not recorded in O.E. For exs. see p. 37 f.

β. Contracted forms in E.E.M.

αα. Ending in *-d(d)* in E.E.M. ααα. Ending in *-d* in O.E.

**Orrm.** (bi)ležžd, sežžd, see p. 29, tald 8258. — **Best.** seid (: breid, sb. sg.) 673, told (: wold, sb. sg.) 758; 584, 764. — **G.Ex.** leid, seid, see p. 29, sod 3149, sold, told, see p. 28.

βββ. Ending in *-(e)d* in O.E.

**Orrm.** hidd 1090, 1704, 1754, 7380 etc., ledd 9359, 9403, 11321, 11405, shridd 137, 782, 912, 8177 etc. — **Best.** bred 140 (< O.E. brédan = breed). — **G.Ex.** bred, fed etc., see p. 24, kid (: bi-tid, pp.) 2357 (mixed pp. forms if *kippedd*, Orrm. 16979, < O.E. cyfan, see p. 24), led, see p. 40.

γγγ. Ending in *-ed* in O.E.

**Orrm.** ferrd 20018, flemmd 8239, herrd 153, 683, 3410, 3414 etc., heorrd 10850. — **Best.** herd 584 (see Arch. 88, 368). — **G.Ex.** flemd 1265.

δδδ. The O.E. verb has more than one form or inflection.

**Chr.** of dred 263/3. — **Orrm.** forrdredd etc., see p. 25, redd 6870, shadd, see p. 29. — **G.Ex.** for-dred, see p. 25, for-red (: for-dred, pp.) 2192, s(h)ad, see p. 29.

εεε. Native verbs not recorded in O.E. No ex.

ββ. Ending in *-t(t)* in E.E.M.

ααα. Ending in *-t* in O.E. For exs. see p. 30 f.

To these exs. may be added: **Chr.** bepaht 262/23 (O.E. bepācan).

— **Orrm.** lahht 11621 (O.E. læcc(e)an). — **Best.** bi lagt 791 = bilagt (Mä.). — **G.Ex.** lagt (: hagt) 2081.

βββ. Ending in *-ed*, *-t(t)* in O.E. For exs. see p. 26 f.

Other exs. are: **Best.** idigt 469 (O.E. gedichtan).

**G.Ex.** pligt (: un-rigt) 1275; 2677 (O.E. plihtan).

γγγ. Ending in *-ed* in O.E. — **G.Ex.** girt 3149 (O.E. gyrdan, Wr. § 530), mengt 1592 (cf. p. 39), bi-ment (: went, pp.) 2202 (cf. p. 27).

δδδ. Native verbs not recorded in O.E. — **G.Ex.** pilt (: filt, pp.) 2214 (< O.E. \*pyltan).

γ. Mixed forms in E.E.M. αα. Ending in *-ed*, *-d* in E.E.M.

ααα. Ending in *-ed* in O.E. **Orrm.** cwemedd 10499, 13804, cwemmd D. 211, demedd, demmd etc., see p. 39.

βββ. The O.E. verb has more than one form. — **Orrm.** naʒʒl-edd D. 224, H. 1151, 1369 etc. — **G.Ex.** naild 564 (Here? The dictionaries give different forms of the O.E. vb.; N.E.D. has *næʒlan*, Sweet *nægl(i)an*, Bosw., Clark H. *næglian*; Bosw. has O.E. exs. with *-ed* in the pp., cf. Bosw. Suppl. — N.E.D. has *næʒled* (Rushw. Gosp.) and *zenæʒlad* (Lindisf. Gosp.)).

ββ. Ending in *-ed*, *-t* in E.E.M. ααα. Ending in *-ed* in O.E.

**Chr.** to deled 267/17. — **Orrm.** dæledd etc., see p. 39. — **G.Ex.** delt 670, 3243, undelt 943.

βββ. Ending in *-ed*, *-t* in O.E.

**Orrm.** gilltedd I. 6, forrgilltedd I. 26, 30, forrgillt I. 25, 29, lihhtedd 18943, 18945 etc. — **G.Ex.** ligt (: rigt) 2252, (: o-frigt) 3651; 2787.

γγγ. Native vbs. not recorded in O.E. Here perh. **G.Ex.** (for-)frigted, o-frigt etc., see p. 38.

γγ. Ending in *-d*, *-t* in E.E.M. ααα. Ending in *-(e)d* in O.E.

**Orrm.** sennd 209, 1820, 2851 etc. — **G.Ex.** sent, see p. 39.

βββ. Ending in *-ed* in O.E. — **Orrm.** wennd D. 13, 147. —

**G.Ex.** went, see p. 42.

δδ. Ending in *-ed*, *-d*, *-t* in E.E.M., in *-(e)d* in O.E.

**Orrm.** filledd 215, 1722, 2543 etc., shennd 1985, 1999, shendedd 4965. — **G.Ex.** fild, filt, fulfilt, see p. 42, shent (: went, pp.) 754.

εε. maked, mad etc., see p. 43.

## 2. Verbs of foreign origin. a. Scandinavian.

α. Ending in *-ed* in E.E.M. αα. Ending in *-dr*, *-tr* in O.N.

**Orrm.** biggedd 18104, henngedd 1018, bihenngedd 951, reʒʒsedd 5843, sleekedd 5689 (O.N.?, cf. Bj. 147, 147<sup>1</sup> and N.E.D.).

ββ. Ending in *-idr*, *-dr* in O.N. — **G.Ex.** hiled (: spiled, pp.) 3184.

β. Ending in *-d* in E.E.M. — **G.Ex.** cald 890, 1814, 1838, 3367, 3686 (O.N. pp. ending in *-adr*).

γ. Mixed forms in E.E.M. — **Orrm.** brennd 1000, pl. brennde 1753. — **G.Ex.** brend, brent, see p. 45.

b. Continental Germanic. See p. 45.

c. French. α. Ending in *-ed* in E.E.M. — **Orrm.** See Thüns, p. 70. — **G.Ex.** circumcised 1200, 1202 (see N.E.D.).

β. Ending in *-d* in E.E.M. — **G.Ex.** hird 3962 (see Morris' marginal note) (O.F. *hurter*), paid 2215 (O.F. *paier*, *paer*).

γ. Mixed forms in E.E.M. — **Orrm.** bikæchedd 11628, bikahht 11621, 12288.

*Note.* The prefix (O.E. *ge-*) is seldom retained in E.E.M. I have only found the following instances:

*Chr.* ge haten 262/31. — *Orrm.* zehatenn D. 178, H. 3271 etc.; 67 insts. (5 insts. of *hatenn*, Zenke, p. 37), istanedd 1968 (2 insts. of *stanedd*, Zenke, p. 37).

**Best.** idigt 469. — **G.Ex.** ybiried 2520, y-oten 2416, i-wreken 1856, i-wrogt 3215 (MS. *hirdi wrogt*).

We find the prefix also in *Best.* ikindled 16, this verb not being recorded in O.E.

The pp. ending *-ed* of wk. vbs. is retained in writing in most verbs in E.E.M. It is always retained when corresponding to O.E. *-od*, *-ad* (except *mad*, besides *maked*) usually also when corresponding to O.E. *-ed*. **Mad**, pp., G.Ex., corresponds to the pret. *made*; *maked* to the pret. *makede*, Chr. (not found in *Orrm.*, *Best.*, and *G.Ex.*). Syncope of verbs whose stems do not end in *-d* is rare. It is found in *ferrd*, *flemmd*, *he(o)rrd*, *Orrm.*, *herd*, *Best.*, *flemd*; *G.Ex.*, (see pp. 23, 40).

In a couple of verbs ending in *-ed* in O.E., syncopated forms interchange with full ones in E.E.M. for metrical reasons (see *cwemedd*, *cwemmd*, *demedd*, *demmd* p. 39 f.).

Nearly all native verbs not recorded in O.E end in *-ed* in the pp. in E.E.M. The ending *-d* is regularly found in verbs which end in *-d* in the pp. in O.E. In verbs whose stems end in *-d*, syncopation seems to be normal, but also full forms of verbs of this type are found, e. g. *Orrm.* *beldedd* 2746, *beoldedd* 2870.

*Kid*, G.Ex. 2357, has the same pp. form as the verbs whose stems end in *-d* in O.E. (cf. the pret. *kidde*, *Orrm.*, *G.Ex.*).

Syncope is also found in *of dred*, Chr., *forrdredd* etc., *redd*, *shadd*, Orrm., *for-dred*, *for-red*, *s(h)ad*, G.Ex. (see p. 74).

Mixed forms are found in some verbs ending in -(e)d in O.E. (see p. 75).

The ending *-t(t)* mostly corresponds to O.E. *-t*; in verbs whose stems end in *-tt* or *-t + a cons.* the pp. ending *-t* corresponds to O.E. syncopated forms. In verbs of the last mentioned type the ending *-ed* is also found, e. g. *fastedd* etc., Orrm., *rigted*, G.Ex., (see p. 74); in others *-edd* is found by the side of *-t*, e. g. *forrgilltedd*, *forrgillt*; *lihhtedd*, Orrm., besides *ligt*, G.Ex. (see p. 75).

A few verbs ending in *-ed* in O.E. take the ending *-t* in E.E.M. (see p. 75), in one verb *-t* is found side by side with *-ed* (*-ed* in O.E.), see *to deled*, *dæledd*, *delt* etc., p. 75).

Most Scandinavian wk. vbs. take *-ed* in the pp.

*Cald*, G.Ex., corresponds to the pret. *calde*, ibid., and just as we find mixed pret. forms of *brennen*: *brende*, *brente*, there are different pp. forms of this verb: *brend*, *brent* in G.Ex.

Of the Continental Germanic loan *speren*, G.Ex., we should expect *spered* in the pp., corresponding to the pret. *unspered*, ibid. The pp. forms of verbs of French origin are very few and therefore no conclusions can be drawn.

*Paid*, G.Ex. 2215, should prob. be corrected into *paied*: this form better suiting the verse. In Orrm. *bikechedd* is used for metrical reasons by the side of *bikahht*, which corresponds to the pret. *kagte*, G.Ex. 949.

The mixture of full forms and syncopated ones sometimes allows of special explanations (mostly metrical reasons). The interchange of full forms and syncopated ones of the same verb in Orrm. is always due to the metre, but such explanations will not always do in the other texts. In O.E. there was a difference between inflected pps. and uninflected ones (Siev., §§ 402, 406) and in some cases also a difference between Anglian and Southern dialects. This mixture of forms may to some extent account for the mixed forms in M.E. The syncopated pp. forms are certainly also to a great extent analogical formations to the preterites without an intermediate vowel: if the pret. is formed without an intermediate vowel, this vowel is liable to be dropped in the pp. as well.

For the pp. forms in *-t* (sometimes mixed with other endings) corresponding to O.E. *-ed*, see above.

The retention of the O.E. form of the prefix *ge-* in Chr. is not astonishing, as O.E. spellings are not rare in this text, but the occurrence of the same form in Orrm. must be due to special circumstances since it is only found in *zehatenn*. It is undoubtedly due to the frequent use of the passive forms of this verb. The typical M.E. form of the prefix is kept in *istanedd*, Orrm., where the *i-* stands for metrical reasons. It is also required by the metre in Best. and G.Ex., except in G.Ex. 2520 where *woren* may be dissyllabic.

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## Summary.

### Strong verbs.

The O.E. ablaut is well preserved in its M.E. modifications, though deviations are not rare. The most common types of deviation are: adoption of the ablaut of another class and adoption of the ablaut of another principal part in the same class, but the ablauts of the pret. sg. and the pret. plur. are nearly always kept apart. In some forms Scand. influence is to be seen. The forms showing traces of Verner's law are getting scarce. New weak formations are also found. The same holds good of Orrm., too, but here the vowels of the pret. sg. and the pret. pl. are always kept apart (Zenke, § 1).

One str. vb. of Scand. origin is recorded in E.E.M., viz. *taken*; its ablaut agrees with that of the native vbs. belonging to class VI.

### Weak verbs.

There are three distinct endings in the pret. sg. of the weak verbs in E.E.M.: *-de*, *-te*, *-ed(e)*.

Those ending in *-de*, *-te* either have the same stem-vowel (qualitatively) in the inf. and pret., or have different vowels. The verbs which end in *-de* in E.E.M. and have the same stem-vowel in the inf. and pret. mostly correspond to wk. vbs. ending in *-de* in O.E.; new forms in *-de* are *birrde*, *lerrnde*, Orrm. (O.E. *-ede*, *-ode*). Weak forms in *-de* in E.E.M. of old strong

vbs. are also found in E.E.M.: *helde*, Chr., G.Ex., *fledde*, G.Ex. One wk. vb. not recorded in O.E. belongs to this group, viz. *þrengde*, Chr., *þrenngdenn*, Orrm. Those ending in *-te* in E.E.M. (the same vowel in the inf. and pret.), of course, also usually correspond to O.E. vbs. in *-te*. A few of them end in *-de* or *-ode* in O.E. A small number of old strong verbs have weak forms in *-te* in E.E.M. Here also belongs *drempte*, G.Ex., (inf. *dremen*), not recorded in O.E. In these verbs the shortening of the stem-vowel is frequent. The shortening is either regular (e. g. when the stem ends in a long vowel + *d*, *p*, *t*), or due to the analogy of those regularly shortened, or to unstressed position in the sentence (e. g. *birrde*, Orrm.).

Those ending in *-de*, *-te* in E.E.M. and having different stem-vowels in the inf. and pret. generally correspond to O.E. wk. verbs with different stem-vowels in these forms. Special circumstances have influenced *shædenn*, *shadde*, Orrm. Noteworthy are also: *radde*, *dreddde*, *þratte*, Orrm., *redde*, *dreddde*, *ðrette*, *ðreated*, G.Ex. The stem-vowel is long in *cwaldenn* etc., before the cons. group *ld*, or short in *bohhte* etc., before *ht*, *gt*.

The majority of weak verbs ending in *-ed(e)* in E.E.M. correspond to wk. vbs. ending in *-ede*, *-ade*, *-ode* in O.E. Not a few verbs, however, ending in *-de* or *-te* in O.E. end in *-ed(e)* in E.E.M., owing to the analogy of the large number of verbs which regularly had this ending. Also a few O.E. strong verbs have weak pret. forms in *-ed(e)* in G.Ex.: *luked* (cf. pp. *lukan*, G.Ex., *lokem*, Orrm.), *bannede*, *ouer-flowged* (cf. *flew*), and (?) *walke-denn*. The majority of wk. vbs. not recorded in O.E. take the ending *ed(e)* in E.E.M.

Owing to the influence of the different types of verbs there is also in a fairly large number of verbs a mixture of the different pret. endings. In most of the verbs only two of the endings occur but in a few all three are recorded. O.E. *habban* and *macian* show a large variety of pret. forms in E.E.M.

The wk. verbs of Scandinavian origin also take the endings *-de*, *-te*, *-ede* in E.E.M. (*-ede* is the most common). The following mixed forms are recorded; *brende*, *brente*, G.Ex., *henged*, Chr., *henngde*, Orrm. The E.E.M. endings only partly agree with the O.N. ones. Other verbs of foreign origin (Continental Germanic and French) all take the pret. ending *-ed(e)* in E.E.M., except

*kagte*, G.Ex., which is formed on the model of M.E. *lac(c)hen* (O.E. *læcc(e)an*).

### Preterite-Presents.

The forms well correspond to the O.E. ones in their M.E. modifications. The following forms and irregularities are worthy of notice:

O.E. *agan*. *Oget*, G.Ex., 3rd p. sg. pres. ind., = *oged*, a new analogical formation. Shortening in *ah(h)te*, *agte*, Chr., Orrm., G.Ex.

O.E. *cunnan*. *Cude*, -n, pret., G.Ex., (besides *cude*, -n) a new formation after wk. vbs., the pret. of which ends in -de.

O.E. *dear(r)*. *Durste*, -n, pret., Chr., G.Ex., < O.E. (R<sup>1</sup>) *durste*.

O.E. *magan*. The stem-vowel of *mugen*, inf., G.Ex., pres. pl., Best., G.Ex. (besides *mogen*, pres. pl., G.Ex.) is analogically introduced. *Migt*, 2nd p. sg. pres. ind., G.Ex., *mihte*, *migte*, Chr., Best., G.Ex., < O.W.S. *miht*, -e or O. Engl. \**miht*, \**mihte*, cf. O. Engl. *maht*, -e. Orrm. has *mahht*, besides *mihht* in the 2nd p. sg. pres. ind., but in the pret. only *mihhte*, -nn, *mihhtess*, -t. *Muhton*, Chr., pret. pl. < O.E. *muhton*.

O.E. *mōt*. Shortening in *moste*, pret., Chr.; *muste*, G.Ex., cf. *mosste*, Orrm.

O.E. *sculan*. Note *sal*, G.Ex., 2 p. sg. pres. ind., besides the more common *salt*. The Best. has *salt* and Orrm. *shallt*. The pret. *sculde*, Chr., *sulde*, Best., G.Ex. < O. Engl. *sculde*. Orrm. has *shollde*, *solle*; see Morsbach (in Zenke, § 55); see also Thüns, § 53, Lambertz, p. 132.

O.E. *þurfan*. *durte*, G.Ex.

O.E. *witan*. *Wist*, G.Ex., a new weak past partic.

### Anomalous verbs.

For the great variety of forms see the material.

### The Personal Inflections of the Verbs.

The endings are: I. *Pres. Ind.* 1. 1 p. sg. -e in Orrm., Best., and G.Ex. No inst. in the Chr.

*Note*. Contract vbs. have no special ending. When followed immediately by the pron. *ic*, forms in -e interchange with those without -e. The -e is not dropped in Orrm. in this case.

2. 2 p. sg. *-es* and *-est* in Best. and G.Ex. No inst. in the Chr. In Orrm. *-esst*; once *-ss*, perh. miswriting (cf., however, Zenke, § 40). Contracted verbs (== old contract verbs and syncopated ones) have *-st* in Orrm.

3. 3 p. sg. *-ed* (spelling variations *-ed*, *-et*), *-id* (*-id*) in Best. and G.Ex. Once *-es*, Best. Only one inst. (*haued*) in Chr. — Orrm. has *-epp*. Contracted verbs: *-d*, *-t*. Orrm. *-p*, *-t*.

Syncopation chiefly of verbs whose stem ends in *-d* or *-t*, but also of these full forms are found.

4. Plur. Usually *-en*, contract verbs *-n* in Best. and G.Ex. In Chr. only one inst. (*lien*). Sometimes there is interchange of forms in *-e* and *-en*. In Orrm. *-enn*, contr. vbs. *-n*. When the subject is a pers. pron. of the 1st and 2nd pers. coming immediately after the verb the ending is *-e*. The same is the case in Orrm., where *-e* is even found before a pronoun of the 3rd pers. by the side of the more common *-enn* (Thüns, § 5, Anm. 2).

II. *Pres. Subj.* 1. Sing. *-e* in Orrm., Best., and G.Ex. No inst. in the Chr. *Wurd*, G.Ex., (which occurs besides *wurde*) is doubtful. Contract vb.: *se*, Best.

2. Plur. *-en*, Best., G.Ex. Contract verbs *-n*. Before a pers. pron. of 1st and 2nd pers. *-e* (contr. vbs. have no special ending). *Coman*, Chr., is traditional spelling. In Orrm. *-e* and *-enn* interchange indiscriminately in the plur. (Thüns, § 6, Zenke, § 44).

III. *Imperative.* 1. Sing. Orrm. No spec. ending (*-e* twice [= O.E. *-a*], because of special circumstances).

In Best. and G.Ex. usually no spec. ending (corresponding both to O.E. uninflected forms and to those in *-a*, *-e*); not seldom *-e* (d:o, d:o), and sometimes a mixture of no spec. ending and *-e*. In Chr. no inst. Verbs of foreign origin have no spec. ending in Best. and G.Ex.

2. Plur. Orrm. *-epp*; Best., G.Ex. *-ed* (also in Scand. vbs.). *Seid*, G.Ex. 2350, is a new formation.

IV. *Infinitive.* Mostly *-en*, sometimes *-e*; cf. Holm 103 f., 104<sup>1</sup> (Contract vbs: *-n* or no spec. ending). The inflected inf. is only found in Orrm. (*to donne*, three times).

V. *Pres. Partic.* Chr. *-end(e)*, Orrm. *-ennde*, Best. *-ande*, G.Ex. *-ande*, *-ende*.

The *-i-* of the present stem is seldom retained.

VI. *Pret. Ind.* 1. Strong verbs. a. Sing.  $\alpha$ . 1st and 3rd pers. Mostly uninflected (always in Orrm.), sometimes *-e* (mostly new weak forms). —  $\beta$ . 2nd pers. Only recorded in Orrm. No spec. ending except once: *come* 2812 (at the end of the septenar).

b. Plur. Usually *-en*; the *-n* is seldom dropped (Orrm. has *-e* before a subject pron.).

2. Weak verbs. a. Sing.  $\alpha$ . 1st and 3rd pers. *-e*; not unfrequently the *-e* is dropped in Chr. and G.Ex.

$\beta$ . 2nd pers. *Best. -es, -est* (*higtes, -t*, O.E. str. (redupl.) vb.).

b. Plur. Nearly always *-en*; once *-in*, G.Ex.; the insts. of *-e* and no special ending in Chr. and G.Ex. are all doubtful. In Orrm. *-enn*; *-e* before a subject pronoun.

VII. *Pret. Subj.* Sg. *-e*; pl. *-en*. Orrm. has *-e*, *-enn*.

The stem-vowel sometimes shows irregularities.

VIII. *Past Partic.* 1. Str. vbs. *-en* (*-n* in *born*, G.Ex.); contract vbs. *-n*.

2. Wk. vbs. *-d, -t, -ed*.

*Note 1.* Only stray instances of the retention of the prefix (O.E. *ge-*) are found in E.E.M.; when retained it is due to special reasons.

*Note 2.* The unstressed *e* in the endings of the verbs can be pronounced or mute in all forms to suit the requirements of the verse. In Orrm. there are numerous exs. of mute *-e* in *shollde, wollde* (which verbs are liable to be unstressed in the sentence). This is, however, probably only incidental as the *-e* is quite frequently fully pronounced in these forms, too, in Orrm.

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